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Some Principles and Services of the Prayer-Book Historically considered

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EDITED BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians
and of the Society of Antiquaries, of London

RIVINGTONS
34, *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*
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PREFATORY NOTE

THE following papers represent independent research by certain laymen into the topics which they handle. Their aim has been to set forth as plainly as possible the historical conclusions at which they have arrived.

References, it is hoped, will be found to be fully given. In quoting English, the spelling of the present day has been nearly always followed. Latin has been introduced chiefly in the notes.

Should sufficient encouragement be given by Churchmen, a further volume will be published.

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THE CEREMONIAL USE OF LIGHTS IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

By Cuthbert Atchley.

The object of this paper is to investigate the ceremonial use of lights in the English Church at a period immediately before the passing of the first Act of Uniformity of King Edward VI. (2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 1.) that is to say, in the second year of that king's reign. With this object in view we must begin by considering the legislative enactments which had been made immediately before this year; since we shall then be in a position to say that every use of earlier days which had not been abolished or otherwise modified was still maintained.

On February 6, 1548, a Proclamation was issued against those that did innovate, alter, or leave undone any rite or ceremony in the Church of their own private authority;[1] ordering that "no manner person . . . do omit, leave undone, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left

[1] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 508.

undone at any time" during the previous reign, or by Edward VI. and his Council. In 1547 an Act of Parliament was passed which ordered the restoration of Communion in both kinds: no form was annexed to the Act, but in the following March an *Order of Communion* was put forth by Royal Proclamation, and was considered to have derived its parliamentary authority from the Act 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 8. which gave royal proclamations the force of statute law. We read in one of the rubrics of this service[1] (which, be it remembered, was an *addition* to the Latin service, and *not* a substitute for it) that things were to go on as usual "without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass (until other order shall be provided)."[2] Further, it will be remembered that all the

[1] Three editions certainly of the *Order of Communion* appeared in 1548, on March 8, all printed by Grafton. It was reprinted by Hamon L'Estrange in his *Alliance of Divine Offices*, London, 1659, and frequently after. See William Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, Oxford, 1882; p. 296: *The Two Liturgies . . . of King Edward VI.* Parker Society, 1844; p. 4.

[2] That is to say, the period to which I think the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and the present Ornaments' Rubric refer. As an example to show that this is the case, we may point to the following facts about the use of the grey amess (*almutium*). In obedience to the first of the *Certain Notes* at the end of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549 (*The Two Liturgies . . . of King Edward VI.*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 157) the canons and petty-canons of St. Paul's left off their grey and calaber amesses on Whitsunday, June 9, 1549, and the canons wore hoods on their surplices after the degrees of the universities, and the petty-canons tippets like other priests (Ch. Wriothesley, *Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1877; ii. 14. *The Chronicle of the Greyfriars of London*, Camden Society, 1852; p. 59, gives Monday, June 3, as the date). That it was in obedience to the rubric seems clear from their action in leaving off even the hoods on

Canons and Constitutions, etc., that were not contrariant to the King's prerogative were now invigorated with the force of statute law, by certain Acts of Parliament passed in the previous reign.[1] Consequently the Latin mass with all its ceremonies went on unaltered, so far as authority of Parliament is concerned, subject to certain changes mentioned in the proclamations referred to above; and the *Order* was only used when there

All Hallows' Day, 1552, obeying the rubric in the Second Prayer-book before Morning Prayer (*Two Liturgies*, 217; Wriothesley, ii. 78). The use of this vestment was restored under Queen Mary; but in August, 1559, the Elizabethan commissioners took it upon themselves to order its disuse (Wriothesley, ii. 146). They had exceeded their powers, for it was lawful under the Act of Uniformity 1 Eliz. cap. 2, § xiij. Two prebendaries in grey amesses of St. Paul's assisted at the obsequy for Henry II. of France on the 8th and 9th September, 1559 (J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, London, 1725; i. 127, 128). There were priests wearing grey and calaber amesses in the procession on St. George's Day, 1561, at Windsor (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 258). Parker and his suffragans wore amess and habit at Convocation January 13, 1562 (E. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, Oxford, 1842; ii. 497–98): the Upper House tried to make it illegal in 1571, but did not succeed (*ibid.* i. 115–6). Lastly, "the gray amise with cattes tayles" was one of the "Gross pointes of poperie evident to all men" in 1581 (*British Magazine*, 1842; xxi. 625). Therefore—seeing that the amess was illegal under the First Prayer-book, and is legal under the Ornaments Rubric—the rubric refers, not to the Prayer-book, but to a period anterior to it.

As early as 1877 the opinion that the second year of Edward VI. was a year and not a book was maintained by the well-known liturgical scholar, the late Mr. W. J. Blew, in his tract, *The Second Year of the Reign of King Edward VI.* (London: Pickering).

[1] The Act 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19, § vij gives the force of statute law to "all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and Synodals provincial being already made, which be not contrariant nor repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative Royal." This is continued by 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 15, ¶ 3; and again by 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 16, § ij, which is worded "Synodal or Provincial," and not as above. It is still in force.

were other communicants besides the priest, which was not compulsory except at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas.[1]

But these innovations by proclamations had not, strictly speaking, the authority of Parliament, although they were enforced as if they had; for the Acts 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 8, and 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 23, which rendered Royal Proclamations, etc., as "valid as though they were made by authority of Parliament," were repealed by the Act 1 Edw. VI. cap. 12, § iv;[2] and therefore all the prohibitions contained in the Edwardian Injunctions were null and void, and perhaps those in the Henrician Injunctions became so also. But here let us pause, and suppose that these Injunctions *were* in force: what would be the state of affairs as regards "ceremonial lights"? Henry forbad all setting of lights before images, excepting those in the loft before the rood, those about the Easter Sepulchre, and that

[1] Eighteenth canon of the Council of Agde, 506 A.D. apud Decr. Gratiani, *De consec.* dis. ij. cap. 19. Compare the fifth article of the Devon rebels (Cranmer, *op. cit.*, p. 173). It has been stated that the practice of frequent communion was discouraged by the *Order*, but any one who reads the above-named article cannot avoid seeing that the rebels considered it a grievance to be asked to communicate more often than at Easter only. The infamous Udall was able to retort on them: "Do not your own wives (in case they be with child) receive the sacrament more than once a-year, and at all other times as well as Easter?" (*Troubles connected with the Prayer-book of* 1549, Camden Society, 1884; p. 161).

[2] The Act 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 8, § ij forbids these proclamations to prejudice any one; nor may they repeal "any acts, common laws, standing at this present time in strength and force, nor yet any laudable customs of this Realm." It is open to more than question if Edward's Injunctions fulfil the requirements of this Act.

before the Sacrament of the Altar.[1] Edward renewed these prohibitions, further forbidding lights about shrines; but the two lights upon the High Altar were suffered "to remain still."[2] So that, although these lights were undoubtedly permitted by the Seventh General Council, the prohibitions in the Injunctions are not of much practical importance to us. All other lights were continued under Henry, and under Edward (such as those gild-lights that were not set before images[3]) until the endowments were appropriated to

[1] No. 7 of those issued in 1538: G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Oxford, 1865; ii. 343. So the Archbishop of York, vi. 202; and Shaxton of Sarum, *ibid.* p. 213.

[2] Cranmer, *op. cit.* p. 499. He interprets the injunction in this way, and not as the light before the reserved Host (*ibid.* p. 155).

[3] For instance, Henry's Injunctions in 1538 concerning lights before images were enforced by Shaxton of Sarum, but at St. Thomas's, Sarum, in 1546, "the wives' light" and "St. Nicholas' light" were still kept up (R. C. Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. vi.; R. Benson and H. Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum*, London, 1843; p. 190). The All-Souls' light (alms light or dead light) is another, which hung in the body of the church, *e.g.* St. Margaret Pattens, 1470: An hanging of latten for All-soulen light in the body of the church (*Archaeological Journal*, 1885; xlii. 315). St. Stephen's, Coleman St.: One lamp hanging in the body of the church (*Archaeologia*, 1887; l. 35). It is very common in wills to find a bequest to the All-Souls' light.

At St. Michael's, Bath, there is very frequent mention of a taper called the "Journal," *e.g.* 1371, "in uno cereo empto ad Jornale viij^{d}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts of the Church and Parish of St. Michael without the North Gate, Bath*, edited by C. B. Pearson, and published by the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Taunton, 1878; p. 11, etc.). They had one at Wells Cathedral in 1415, "Pro emendatione j pelvis vocat*a* jurnel in medio chori et pro auricalco ad idem, 2^{s}, et pro ij cordulis pro pelve voc*ata* jurnel, 4^{d}" (Hist. MSS. Comm. *Rep. on MSS. of Wells Cathedral*, 1885; 277). Perhaps this may have been a votive light; the name *cereus diurnalis*, would seem to point to its being burnt by day, and so not for mere illumination.

the Crown by the Act 1 Edw. VI. cap. 14, §§ v. vii.: all unendowed lights were still continued, and probably many of those formerly endowed were retained and supported by other means; so far as authority of Parliament was concerned, they were still lawful. We may therefore inquire what these lawful ceremonial lights were.

Altar Lights.

First, then, those connected with the altar. Usually there were two upon it. Sometimes there seems to have been none at all *upon* the altar, but at each corner there was a column, generally of brass, supporting the ridells and the overfrontal, and surmounted with a lighted taper which was frequently held by the figure of an angel, a method we often see in illuminations and pictures;[1] or there was a column only at the two anterior corners, as at the high altar of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary Ottery;[2] or again, in poor parishes there might merely be one light held during mass by the clerk. At the altar of St. Maurice in Aberdeen Cathedral,[3] in 1518, there were two candlesticks hanging

[1] British Museum M.S. Domitian, A xvij, fol. 11*b*, reproduced in the plate opposite p. 4 in J. D. Chambers' *Divine Worship*, London, 1877. Another instance may be seen in the Flemish picture of *The Exhumation of St. Hubert* in the National Gallery.

[2] G. Oliver, *Monasticon diocesis Exoniensis*, Exeter and London, 1846; p. 273.

[3] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, 1845; ii. 199. At the high altar they had "quatuor columne ennee cum viginti quatuor candelabris, quatuor angelis, et salutatione angelica, ex utraque parte"

over the altar, a method which was occasionally followed in England. A second group of churches always had an odd number of lights upon the altar, as at Lincoln and Chichester Cathedrals,[1] at some monastic churches, and at the low altars in perhaps the majority of places, including most of those at Lichfield Cathedral. The peculiar Lincoln and Chichester customs only obtained at their high altars, and were restricted to the cathedral-churches themselves. When there was only one light it was set on the north side of the altar, as John Myrc, Canon of Lilleshall, says in his *Instructions for Parish Priests* :[2]

> "Look that thy candle of wax it be,
> And set it, so that thou it see,
> On the left half of thine altar."

The monastic uses we need not trouble about, as they had ceased to exist long before the second year of Edward VI. ; but in most cases they had the usual two lights on the altar, like the immense majority of churches

(*ibid.* p. 188). At Barnwell Priory, Cambridgeshire, there were two lamps and two standards at the high altar (*Archaeologia*, 1871 ; xliii. 225).

[1] At Lincoln there were five on [*super*] the high altar on principal feasts, three on doubles, one on ferials ; besides this, each altar had one taper during *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* for the censing (H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892 ; i. 288 sq.). At Chichester there were seven on feasts of the first rank, five for the second rank, and three for the rest ; there were also always two on the steps before the high altar (*Archaeologia*, 1877 ; xlv. 165 sq.).

[2] Ed. by Edw. Peacock, *Early English Text Society*, 1868 ; p. 58. In some country churches they had a custom of sticking a number of images and tapers in a disorderly fashion about the altar, which was reprobated by Bp. Grandisson when he drew up the statutes for his Collegiate Church of St. Mary Ottery, in 1339 (Oliver, *Monast. Dioec. Exon.* p. 270).

both in England and on the Continent. The English inventories of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries all testify more or less strongly to the practice, and in addition show that almost always there were two or more large standard candlesticks on the pavement between the high altar and the seats in the quire. For instance, at St. Ewen's, Bristol, in 1455 there were "two candlesticks of latten for the high altar; one standard of latten for the quire of the gift of William Treheran, and another standard of latten bought with gathering money," [1] *i.e.* by special subscription. At Wickham,[2] one of the prebendal churches of St. Paul's Cathedral, the visitors found in 1458 "two candlesticks of latten standing before the altar, and two candlesticks standing upon the altar." In 1466 the Church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London,[3] had "a pair of standards for the high altar," and "a pair of candlesticks to set on the high altar, with a less pair for processions." So at All Saints, High Wycombe, Bucks,[4] there were "two candlesticks of latten to stand upon the high altar; two great candlesticks of latten to stand in the quire." At Wing, Bucks,[5] they had in 1527 "two standards of latten for the high altar; and two small latten candlesticks for the same." About the year 1549 there were "two great candlesticks of latten, two

[1] *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc. Trans.* 1890-91; xv. 152, 154.

[2] *Visitation of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 95.

[3] *Archaeologia*, 1887; l. 34.

[4] Historical MSS. Comm., *Fifth Rep.* Appendix, 554.

[5] *Archaeologia*, 1855; xxxvi. 222.

little candlesticks of latten, and two little candlesticks of tin" at Darlington, Devon.[1] Such examples might be multiplied to any extent, were it necessary; but some showing the practice of regular churches may be not inappropriate. Thus the White Monks of Delacres, Staffordshire,[2] at the dissolution of their house in 1538, had "two candlesticks of latten on the altar," and "two great candlesticks of latten:" the Black Canons of Darley, Derbyshire,[3] had at the high altar "two great standards of latten," and "two candlesticks of iron;" and also "two candlesticks of brass before the [Lady] altar:" the priory of Black Monks of Colne[4] was possessed of "two candlesticks of latten on the high altar," and "two standards of latten before the said altar:" the White Friars of Newcastle-on-Tyne[5] had in the quire "two great brazen candlesticks, two pair of less candlesticks, an iron candlestick, and a lamp of latten." So the Brigettine monastery of Syon, near Isleworth,[6] had in 1450 "two tapers upon the altar" and "two in the great candlesticks" which stood "on the pavement before it." Many churches had more than two standards; at All Saints, Bristol,[7] in 1464, besides two candlesticks for the high altar of latten, two processional candlesticks of latten, and two great candlesticks of latten, mentioned in the inventory, one

[1] *British Magazine*, 1834; vi. 146.

[2] *Archaeologia*, 1866; xliii. 215. [3] *Ibid.* 218.

[4] *Ibid.* 242. [5] *Ibid.* 1888; li. 71.

[6] G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, Nichols, Westminster, 1890; pp. 343, 358, 368, 369.

[7] *MS. Accounts, etc.*, in the custody of the Vicar of All Saints, pp. 113, 329.

John Leynell and Katherine his wife gave "a great pair of latten candlesticks called standards for the quire, and where afore we had but two, now we have four, and also, where we were wont to borrow in time of necessity, now, blessed be God and them, we have no need." So too at Wigtoft, Lincolnshire,[1] they had "four candlesticks afore the high altar" in 1484. At St. Nicholas, Bristol,[2] in 1519, the inventory tells us that "there is belonging to the quire four standards of latten." Pilton, Somersetshire,[3] had four great candlesticks in 1522, and Ludlow, Shropshire,[4] "four standards" in 1548. These standards were sometimes even placed before side altars; as at All Saints, High Wycombe,[5] where there were "two candlesticks of latten standing in St. Nicholas' chancel" in 1475; and at St. Lawrence, Reading, three of the side altars had these standards in the sixteenth century.[6]

The secular cathedrals (other than Lincoln and Chichester) seem to have generally followed the usual custom:[7] *e.g.* at Wells, besides the two lights on the

[1] J. Nichols, *Illustrations*, etc. London, 1797; p. 79.

[2] Vellum-leaved vestry-book in the custody of the Vicar of St. Nicholas, fol. 39.

[3] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Society, 1890; p. 71.

[4] *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, Camden Society, 1869; p. 37.

[5] Historical MSS. Comm. *Fifth Rep.* Appendix, 555.

[6] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Laurence*, Reading, 1883; pp. 36, 37, 41.

[7] The good folk who regularly give us the daily variations in the number of lights according to Sarum use, ignore that Bishop William (25 Sept., 1254) doubled all the lights in the Cathedral "tam circa maius altare quam alibi" (*Charters and Documents, etc.* Rolls Series, 1891; p. 322).

altar at all quire services founded by Bishop Jocelyn,[1] they had in 1394 "two great brazen candlesticks[2] at the high altar." At Sarum the customs-book orders two lights on the altar, and two others on the step before it;[3] but on great feasts, instead of those two, there were eight lights about the altar,[4] most probably placed in the "eight great and fair candlesticks of gold" which they had in 1536.[5]

At St. Mary-at-Hill in 1485,[6] besides the "two standards of latten," they had "on the high altar two great candlesticks and three small," an exception to the general rule. And in some places, instead of the standards before the altar, they had a single candlestick with several branches: *e.g.* at Long Melford in 1529[7] there was "a candlestick with ten branches standing before the high altar." But this was rare,[8] although in

[1] H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral, its Foundation, Constitutional History and Statutes*, Leeds, 1881; p. 49.

[2] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rep. on Wells Cathedral MSS.*, p. 275.

[3] *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1883; i. 8. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Wm. Dodsworth, *Historical Account . . . of Salisbury*, Salisbury, 1814; p. 230.

[6] J. Nichols, *Illustrations*, p. 114.

[7] J. P. Neale, *Views of Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; ii. 18.

[8] These altar lights were *ceremonial*, and not for illumination merely. Thus Lindewode (*Provincialis* Lib. iii. tit. *De celeb. miss.* cap. *Linthea-mina*, verb. *Due candele*, Antwerp, 1525; fol. clxxj: and Oxford, 1679; p. 236) referring to *Decr. Greg. IX.* lib. iii., tit. 41, cap. x., says: "Candela namque sic ardens significat ipsum Christum qui est splendor lucis eterne": and the Edwardine Injunctions, "for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world." Lindewode also states that candles burning during mass should be of wax rather than of any other material.

the early middle ages seven-branched candlesticks were not uncommon in the midst of the quire. At Durham there was a seven-branched candlestick that served for the pascall.[1]

Other lights, varying in number with the rank of the feast and the means of the church, were placed on brackets or beams near the altar, especially in the larger churches. A good example presents itself at St. Mary Ottery,[2] where there were two brass columns, each surmounted by an angel holding a taper, one on each side fixed into the ground at a short distance from the anterior corners of the high altar: running backwards from each of them was a slender iron rod which supported the curtain at the end of the altar, and also between each of them and the stone pillars in the presbytery was an iron beam on which were fixed candlesticks to the number of six at least on each side, to hold tapers. Others were placed in basins either hanging or standing, or in *coronae* or hanging candelabra; or there were oil-lamps hanging from the roof. These in parish churches were more common in the nave, for gild-lights, or before images, etc., and the *coronae* were represented by the trendle or reel, to be described below.

There was often a great deal of decoration with candles and branches of holly, ivy, etc., at Christmas-tide: thus it was the duty of the second deacon [under-clerk] of

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842; p. 8.
[2] G. Oliver, *Monast. dioec. Exon.*, 274.

Trinity Church, Coventry,[1] in 1462, "to hang the wires over the high altar at Christmas with ivy and candles of the vicar's cost." At Ludlow[2] *6d.* was paid "for cords to hang ivy and candles upon at Christmas" in 1555.

So far we have contented ourselves with the evidence of pictures, inventories, and customs-books. But there is independent authority, to wit, that of the Canon Law. It was a maxim: *sine lumine ignis sacerdos non celebret missam;*[3] which was expressed by Archbishop Reynold in 1322, that during mass two lights, or at least one, must be lit.[4] Lindewode[5] in the fifteenth century tells

[1] *British Magazine*, 1834; vi. 265.

[2] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 63; *cf.* p. 39: "For ij cords to hang light at Christmas, ij^{d}." St. Nicholas', Bristol, 1527, "For holly boughs at Christmas, ij^{d}; item for candles at Christmas, j^{d} ob." (*MS. Accounts*). Some places had a "crib," *e.g.* Wymondham Priory (Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, London, 1817–30; iii. 335 Luminare ad praesepe ante dictum altare [of our lady]). *Cf.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 497, for what they did at Lichfield in 1194.

Another method of decoration may be seen in the accounts of St. Mary's Redcliffe, Bristol, 1559: "Item, for a quart of oil for to burn in the star on Christmas-day in the morning, 10^{d}; item, for a line to hang the star by, 4^{d}" (Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, Bristol, 1881; ii. 210); and at St. Mary's, Bridgewater, 1447: "For hanging of the star, 1^{d}; for tallow candle on Christmas morn, 4^{d}" (*Church Times*, Feb. 10, 1899; p. 172). See the *Trendle*, below.

At York Minster they had a star on Christmas night, and two on Twelfth-Night (H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892–97; ii. 98).

At St. Laurence's, Reading, 1506, we find 9^{d} paid for sises [small candles] to the holly bush at Christmas, and 2^{d} for a holly bush before the rood (Kerry, *History of St. Laurence, Reading*, p. 52).

[3] Lindewode, *loc. cit.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Lindewode, *op. cit.*, lib. iii., tit. *De eccl. edificandis*, cap. *Ut parrochiani*, verb. *Ad quos pertinent*, Antwerp, fol. clxxxiiij; and Oxford, p. 253.

us that the custom varied in different places, for in some the curate provided the two lights and the parishioners the rest;[1] and in others, as for example many London churches, the parishioners found *all* the lights. Sometimes the vicar found *all* the lights in the chancel, as at St. Margaret's, Leicester, in 1276; where these amounted to nine on herses at the altar on the usual feasts, two upon the altar, two others for processions, and a lamp in the chancel.[2] In other places all the lights were paid for by the churchwardens and the gildwardens: *e.g.* at Ludlow, 1549:—Item, paid for a link (*i.e.* a torch) and a taper to the high altar, 12*d.*; Item for a taper to the first mass, 6*d.* 1550:—Item, to John Troyt, for two tapers weighing three lb., for the first mass, 2*s.* 1570:—Item for lights to the church as well torches as wax candles and tallow, 3*s.* 5½*d.*[3] But in most instances the vicar or rector was answerable for the two lights on the altar, and it is usual in payments for obits and funerals to find an item such as the following: "Item, to the vicar of the Church for the time being for his wax at Dirge and Mass burning, 12*d.*"[4]

[1] It was the duty of the second deacon at Coventry, after every wedding mass, to "bring up the book that the priest weds them with and also the ij tapers of the vicar's which be occupied at the mass" (*Brit. Mag.*, vi. 264). The vicars of Frakenham in 1347, of Hoo in 1327 and 1337, and of Chalke c. 1390 provided the processional candles and all the necessary lights of the chancel (Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, London, 1817; i. 180–182, 187).

[2] J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, London, 1815; i. 2, p. 569.

[3] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 39, 43, 146.

[4] *MS. Accounts*, etc., at All Saints', Bristol, p. 74, the obit of Thomas and Agnes Fyler.

Consequently we see that Canon Law and Ornaments Rubric alike demand that we have two lights, or at least one, burning ceremonially during mass; and that the usual custom was to place them on the altar. In spite of assertions to the contrary, there has been no legal decision, canonical or secular, against the two candlesticks being set immediately on the altar, without the intervention of any shelf.[1] As to decorative and other lights around the altar, the rubric allows of our adapting their number and position to the means of the church and the exigencies of the building, so they never be set on reredos or shelf, or be otherwise contrariant to the rubrics. It is as well to notice that the thing variously termed halpas, hautpas, shelf, table, or reredos, was a raised movable structure, sometimes adorned with a frontal, on the ledge of which the "jewels" and relics were set on high days;[2] but neither light nor altar-cross was ever set thereon. The "gradine" of our modern churches exists in defiance of, and not in accordance with either letter or spirit of, the Ornaments Rubric. Finally, these four lights, two on the altar and two in the standards, were lit equally at evensong, matins, and mass.[3] It is sometimes objected that altar

[1] Sir Walter Phillimore, in Appendix to Alcuin Club Tract I. 1897; p. 64.

[2] All Saints', Bristol, 1464: "Item one Reredos to set Jewels on at the high altar" (*MS. Accounts*, etc., p. 321). St. Matthew's, Friday Street, 1554: "Paid for a haut pas for the altar, x^{d}" (*Jour. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 1869; xxv. 336).

[3] "Ad utrasque vesperas et ad matutinas et ad missam" (*Vet. Reg. Sarisb.* i. 8). 15^{c}0: "The 6 of March did preach at the Court doctor

lights are unlawful because the Book of Common Prayer does not mention them: there are many reasons for rejecting such ideas, one of which is that as no *other* printed English massbook orders these altar-lights, so it is not surprising that *the directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer* should fail to do so.

Collets' Tapers and Sacring-torches.

We further find mention of certain "portable candlesticks" borne about by one or two persons called *ceroferarii* or taperers, in processions, at censing of altars, at the gospel, at reading the collects at evensong and lauds of Sundays and festivals, and at other times.[1]

Byll, dean of Westminster, that day in the queen's chapel, the cross and 2 candles burning, and the tables standing altar-wise" (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 226). "The 24 day of March was mid-lent Sunday, master Barlow, bishop of Saint David's did preach at the Court . . . and he was in his rochet and his chimere, and at 5 of the clock it ended: and incontinent her chapel went to evensong, and there the cross stood on the altar, and 2 candlesticks and 2 tapers burning" (*ibid.* p. 229). The Sarum Processionals of 1508 and 1528 give a number of pictures representing the hallowing of ashes, candles, and palms, on Ash Wednesday, Candlemas, and Palm Sunday respectively, together with the blessing of water on Sundays, and the order of procession before High Mass on Christmas Day, but in every case the altar is shown without cross or candles. The two books vary in minor details as to the position of the ministers and the objects to be hallowed, but all agree in this. At Syon Monastery, however, they had altar-lights on these occasions (G. J. Aungier, *History of Syon Monastery*, 342, 343, 345).

[1] The suffragan of St. Nicholas', Bristol, 1481, had "to warn the procurators that the censers, candlesticks, and ship be ready set forth before the last peal [under] the pain of 1^{d}; the cope also before every evensong when it shall be used the said suffragan shall see ready in the quire under pain of 1^{d}" (Vellum-leaved MS. at St. Nicholas' Church,

At St. Alban's Abbey and Exeter Cathedral they were also held upraised at the sacring or elevation. It is not necessary always to have two taperers, for even cathedral and monastic churches only had one at certain masses.[1] At St. Alban's Abbey these taperers (not unlike their modern successors) became much too "ritualistic" for the authorities, and a statute[2] was accordingly issued in 1423 forbidding them to bow to anybody or anything whilst carrying their tapers before the abbot, excepting to the high altar and the shrine of St. Alban, because the frequent bowings occasioned "useless delay." As will be seen from the Latin text of the statute given in the

fol. 33). These lights were part of the ceremonial of the mass, and so were included amongst the ceremonies not to be changed, according to the Proclamations and the *Order of Communion*. As the vicar usually had to provide these tapers (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 714, and note 9 on p. 5), they rarely appear in the churchwardens' accounts. Morebath, 1527: "for 7 lb. of wax for the 3 tapers afore the high cross and the processional tapers, 4^{s}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, Som. Rec. Soc., 219, 220; *Western Antiquary*, 1891; x. 149). The clerk of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, had "to light the tapers to the censers" (*Archaeologia*, l. 49).

[1] See Martène, *De Antiq. Mon. Rit.*, lib. ii. cap. 4, sec. iii. art. 24, Antwerp, 1736; iv. col. 188. On feriae and feasts without rulers, there was only one taperer at Wells (H. E. Reynolds, *History and Statutes of Wells Cathedral*, 49).

[2] "Quod in singulis fratribus, et praecipue in nostris iuvenibus, cupientes de caetero regularius observari, prohibemus ne illi de caetero in suis ministeriis ab oculis seniorum declinent, aut a retro maioris altaris pro illuminatione torticiorum transeant; sed directe in hiis temporibus vadant ad suos cereos, tenentes eos assidue in manibus, quousque erga horam levationis ad eos accesserint clerici ecclesiae, cum torticiis suis. Prohibemus etiam, ne, quando continget ipsos ante abbatem cereos portare, inclinationes faciant; sed erecti in omni loco, praeterquam ad maius altare et feretrum, transeant; ne sibi moras inferant inutiles, dum hinc inde cum frequentia sic inclinant" (*Ann. Mon. S. Alb.*, a Johanne Amundesham, Rolls Series, 1870; i. 105).

notes, there were also torches held lit at St. Alban's at the sacring, as in the majority of churches in England. They are met with as an established custom as early as 1287 in Exeter diocese, and even before that in London, and from that time onwards they are general.[1] It was

[1] "De parochianorum eleemosynis sacerdotes procurent duos fieri tortisios in canone missae ardentes prout in ecclesiis multis hactenus fieri consuevit" (Fourth canon of Synod of Exeter, 1287; D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737; ii. 132). Walter Pakeman and his heirs gave 18^{d} to the church of Pelham Furneaux in 1297 "ad sustentacionem duorum torticiorum ardentium ad elevacionem Eukaristie in cancello singulis diebus" (*Visitation of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 42). John Jukel left money for the maintenance of torches in the church of St. Michael de Candelwyke strete, circ. 1284 (Reginald R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills . . . in the Court of Husting*, London, 1889; i. 69). Adam de Machinge, in 1288, provided for the maintenance of one torch at the elevation of the Host in the church of Hoggene lane (*ibid.*, i. 83). John de Fulmere provided for a torch at the Elevation of the Host, at St. Andrew Hubbard in 1305 (*ibid.*, i. 167). John de Potenhale, in 1368, provided for a wax torch of twelve lb. weight to burn before the high altar of the church of St. Andrew de Castel Baynard, at the elevation of the Host (*ibid.*, ii. 133), and Ralph Marke, in 1450, ordered that the torches burned at his funeral should afterwards be given to certain churches for use at the elevation (*ibid.*, ii. 521). The third constitution of Henry Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, published in 1308, grants ten days' indulgence to all who assist in holding up two torches to be burnt during the Canon (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 294). A bequest in the will of R. de Chepmanslade, executed in 1311, "to maintain two wax torches at the elevation of the body of Christ at the great altar in the church" of St. Andrew's at Wells (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Third Rep.* Appx., p. 361). Another bequest to the same church for "the torch before the sacrament" in 1532 (F. Weaver, *Wells' Wills*, London, 1890; p. 159). At St. Mary, Ottery, in 1339, there were two large torches at the sacring of the daily high mass, and two similar ones for the daily Lady mass; these were held one on either side of the altar (G. Oliver, *Monast. dioec. Exon.*, 273). At the collegiate church of Astley, Warwickshire, in 1344, was provided "cotidie ad altam missam duos magnos cereos dictos torches ad levationem Corporis Christi" (Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, London, 1830; vi. 1372). Constitution of Wm. Russel, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1350: "Et fiant duo

the duty of the under-suffragan [assistant-clerk] of St. Nicholas', Bristol, "to see that ij torches on the Sunday

cerei ad elevationem sacramenti altaris, et cereus paschalis, quos nihilominus volumus sufficere in quacunque ecclesia nostrae dioecesis ad illud in festivis diebus" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 11). Expenses at Wells Cathedral, 1372: "for torches at the altar of St. Saviour, 20^{d}": "1417–18, for two great torches" (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Tenth Rep.*, Appx., Part iii. pp. 278, 282). Thomas Chapeleyn left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the rector of St. Stephen's, Bristol, in 1388, on condition that the four torches used on the day of burial shall serve at the four altars of the same church in honour of the elevation of the Body of Christ (T. P. Wadley, *Notes or abstracts of the Wills . . . at Bristol*, for Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., 1886; p. 22). The Gild of St. Mary provided that "two torches every day in the year shall be lit and burning at the high mass at same altar from the levation of Christ's body sacred until that the priest have used," at the church of the Black Friars, Norwich, 1368 (*English Gilds*, Early Eng. Text Soc., 1870; p. 14). The Brotherhood of Barbers did the same for the high altar at Charunel in Christ's church (*ibid*, p. 27). The Carpenters' Gild at Norwich, in 1375, was "begun for to encrease a light of torches at sacrament of Christ's body" at the high altar of the mother church (*ibid.*, p. 37). The Gild of Saddlers and Spurriers found and maintained "a light of two torches of wax of 32 lb., every day burning at levation of Christ's body sacred at the high mass but no mass more" in the church of the nunnery of Carrowe beside Norwich in 1385 (*ibid.*, p. 43). The Gild of St. George the Martyr, Bishop's Lynn, found in 1376, at the Church of St. Margaret, "four torches for to burn the principal day at mass" (*ibid.*, p. 74). At Wygenhale, Norfolkshire, the Gild of the Assumption seems to have devoted a portion of their fines to a sacring torch (*ibid.*, p. 113); the Gild of Cranbone, Wygenhale, found "a torch to serve at levation in time of mass" at St. John's Church (*ibid.*, p. 115), and the Gild of St. Peter, in the same place, provided "a torch that shall burn at the levation of the mass every Sunday" (*ibid.*, p. 117). Stephen Welewyk, of East Tisted, in 1378 provided for candles at the elevation of the Host (*coram levacione Corporis*) in every church in the deanery (*Wykeham's Register*, Ed. T. F. Kirby, Hampshire Record Society, 1899; ii. 294). John de Preston left 2*s.* to the sustentation of two torches to be lit daily at the elevation of the most holy host in 1400 (*Testamenta Ebor.*, Surtees Society, 1836; i. 269). John Girdeler left 40*s.* for "six torches of wax for to serve at the altar of St. Peter [at Westminster] in the worship of God" in 1402, and two to the high altars of some other churches (*Fifty Earliest English Wills*, Early English Text Soc., 1882, p. 11). At St Michael's, Bath, the churchwardens

be burning at the high mass sacring," and of the suffragan, "that there be a torch ready for the masses that is

paid for "two tapers [*cerei*] for the elevation of the sacrament" in 1394 (*Churchwardens' Accounts of the Church and Parish of St. Michael without the North Gate, Bath*, Taunton, 1878; p. 15). Henry Payne provided in his will "that every year a new torch should be bought and garnished, to bear about the sacrament on Corpus Christi Day, and after that to serve at high mass sacrings every day ensuing, the year following" at St. Alban's, Wood Street, (?) 1410 (J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Ridivivum*, London, 1807; i. 310. See Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, ii. 389). Roger Elmesley leaves to St. Margaret Pattens, "a torch of my enterment for to burn every Sunday at the levation at the high mass" in 1434 (*Fifty Earliest English Wills*, p. 101). Four torches were left to serve the high altar of the church of St. Michael le Belfray in 1450, to be lit at the time of the elevation of the Body of Christ, two others to the altar of St. Mary in the same church, and one to the altar of SS. Thomas M. and Mary Magdalen; two others to the high altar of the church at Langtofte, two more to the chapel of Cotom, and two besides to the parish church of Easeby by Richmond (*Testam. Ebor.*, 1855; ii. 142). Two lay brethren held the two torches at sacring at Syon Monastery (G. J. Aungier, *Hist. and Antiq. of Syon Monastery*, Nichols, Westminster, 1840; pp. 363, 404). Two torches, price twenty shillings, were bequeathed to burn in the church of St. Sampson, York, at the high altar in the time of the elevation of the sacrament in 1487 (*Testam. Ebor.*, 1869; iv. 27). The Fraternity of Jesus and the Holy Cross, at St. Edmund's, Sarum, found in 1500, a little torch of rosin and two tapers for the morrow mass altar (*Wiltshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Magazine*, 1896–97; xxix. 144). At Bridport the Brotherhood of the Two Torches maintained two torches for lighting at the sacring on Sundays and other feasts, each weighing twenty-six pounds (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Sixth Rep.*, Appx., 478). Gilbert Bannester, of East Greenwich, bequeathed in 1487 "ij torches of wax of a convenient weight to serve and burn at the time of the levation of the high mass there while they will endure" (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Book "Milles," fol. 11. Mr. Leland L. Duncan has kindly supplied this reference). At Ludlow, 1549, "Paid for a link [*i.e.* a torch] and a taper to the high altar, 12^{d};" 1557, "for a link of three pounds and a half delivered unto Sir Thomas Chyrme to burn at the elevation of the sacrament at the first mass, 12^{d};" "item, for another link delivered to Sir Richard Cupper to the same use of two pounds and a half, 8^{d}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, Camden Society, 1869; pp. 39, 75).

said in the church daily." More often these torches were supplied by gilds, or were bequeathed to the church for use at the sacring after serving at the testator's funeral: it was, in some places at any rate, regarded as "according to ancient custom and right" that funeral torches should remain in the church for use at the levation or sacring.[1] It will be seen from the notes that in some places only one was lit, in others two, and in some four or even more. John Foxe has incorporated an instance of this into the most popular work of fiction produced during the sixteenth century, his *Actes and Monuments*. A charge was proved against one Nicholas Canon in 1431, "that upon All-Hallowen Day in the time of elevation of high mass, whenas many of the parishioners of Eye [Norwich diocese] lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the Sacrament," he turned his back on the Eucharist and behaved in a manner not unknown in more recent times.[2]

Tenebre-Lights.

There were certain additional lights used at matins of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday before Easter, generally to the number of twenty-four in England, but the number varied to a wide extent in different places.[3] In Anglo-Saxon times these lights were held to symbolize

[1] W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, London, 1675; i. 238. N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, London, 1826; p. 169.

[2] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583; p. 666.

[3] At Lincoln twenty-five (*Statutes*, 1897; pt. ii. 303): so at York "pro

the twenty-four hours of the day[1]; later on, the twelve prophets and twelve apostles[2]; and by the sixteenth century the last candle remaining unextinguished was considered to typify our Lady[3]. There was as great a variety in their position as in their number: at Lichfield Cathedral they were set "beyond" the high altar[4]; at Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire, they were hung up by a rope in some way[5]; and at Syon Monastery they were set "before the lower gree [step] of the altar."[6] "I remember of old," says James Calfhill[7], "that on Tenebre-Wednesday or one of the solemn days before Easter ye were wont to have a right counterfeit of Constantinople's Cross: save that the one was of silver, the other of wood. And this was Judas' Cross, whereupon was set a great sort of candles, which at service-time

hercijs ad tenebras" (*ibid.*, 99); twenty-four at Lichfield (*ibid.*, 19); so at St. Mary Ottery (Oliver, *Monast. Dioec. Exon.*, 274); and at Sarum (*Vet. Reg. Sarisb.*, i. 172); and Wells (H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 42). A tenebre-herse was required in 1287 to be provided in every parish in Exeter diocese (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 139).

[1] *English Historical Review*, 1894; ix. 705.

[2] *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, Cambridge, 1882; Ed. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, fasc. i. col. dcclxxiii.

[3] The *Festival* says, "Then that candle is brought again and another light there, and that betokeneth our blessed lady" (quoted in T. Rogers' *Catholic Doctrine*, Parker Society, 1854; p. 172), and More says in his *Dialogue*, Book I. cap. 18: "the church yearly in the *tenebrae* lessons, leaveth her candle burning still, when all the remnant, that signifieth his apostles and disciples, be one by one put out" (Sir Thomas More, *Workes*, London, 1557; p. 143, col. ii. H).

[4] Wm. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1830; vi. 1256.

[5] "It. for a rope that holds the herse-light, 18[d]," 1556 (*Antiquary*, 1888; xvii. 119).

[6] G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon*, 348.

[7] *Answer to J. Martiall's Treatise*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 300.

were put out in order." This Judas-cross, lenten-herse, or Judas[1] is mentioned in most church accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and seems almost always to have been made of wood. At Leverton, Lincolnshire[2], they bought "a triangle to set on xxiiij candles of tenebre nights" in 1528; and there was "a cross for candles called Judas-cross" at Lincoln Cathedral[3] as late as 1566. These tenebre-lights or Judas-candles were extinguished one by one "at the beginning of each anthem and response, beginning beneath, and going up from side to side," or in some places at each lesson and response. The custom originated in northern Europe, at a time when mattins was begun before sunrise, and as the day dawned, so the artificial lights were gradually put out: the usage was not adopted in Rome until quite late.[4]

[1] St. Andrew, Hubbard, 1510: "Paid for a pound of candles in wax for the tenebre-light upon the Judas, 8^{d}." 1525: "Paid for Judas-candles, 8^{d}" (*Brit. Mag.* 1848; xxxiv. 19, 180). 1494: "Item, for the mending of the Sepulchre, the chapel door, and Judas-cross, 3^{s}" (*Accts. of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1877; i. 228). All Saints', Bristol, 1464: "Item i Judas for the Candles the 3 nights before Easter" (*MS. Accounts*, etc.). Stanford-in-the-Vale, 1556: "It. for wax candles that were burned the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday before Easter at the tenebres, 6^{d}. It. for timber and the making of the cross that beareth the Tenebre-light otherwise called the Judas-light, 18^{s}. It. for pins of iron for the same light, 4^{d}" (*Antiquary*, xvii. 120). Ludlow, 1557: "Item for nails for the Judas-cross, 1^{d}. Item for a piece of timber and mending the same, 2^{d}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, 77, 78). St. Ewen's, Bristol, 1455: "The Judas of tree [wood]" (*Trans. Brist. and Glo. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-91; xv. 152).

[2] *Archaeologia*, 1867; xli. 351.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1892; liii. 81.

[4] See Amalarius, *De ordine Antiphonarii*, cap. 44, in Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae Ecclesiae officiis*, Parisiis, 1610; col. 541.

Christening and Bishopping Lights.

The lights in use at baptisms consisted of a font-taper,[1] which the priest used in hallowing the font, and which was afterwards held by a clerk until the end of the preface; it seems to have been extinguished or removed before the oil and cream were added to the water: and secondly, the candle called the christening-taper (possibly sometimes identical with the font-taper), which was lit and placed in the child's right hand[2] after baptism "in token that he should . . . show before all men a light of good example and godly works;" in the case of royal chistenings this taper was "garnished" with wax flowers, etc.[3]; and also a number of torches

[1] *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; pp. 10, 15, 11*, 13*. Among the "Costs of Wax" at St. Nicholas, Bristol, 1521, are payments for "A font-taper weighing 2 lb.: 2 font-tapers weighing 8 lb." (*MSS. at St. Nicholas*). Such items are common in all accounts. This taper was borne solemnly in procession on Easter Even (*Missale Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83; col. 350) to the font, but according to the rubric not on other days: St. Margaret, Southwark, had, however, in 1485, "a towell of diaper . . . to serve for Easter holy days to bear the taper to the font" (*Brit. Mag.* xxxiii. 180).

[2] *Manuale cit.*, pp. 17, 15*, 154*. *Officium Eccl. Abbatum sec. usum Eveshamensis Monasterij*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; col. 98. J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, London, 1816; vi. 174. Stanford-in-the-Vale, 1553: "It. for the pascall, trendle, christening-taper, and font-taper, against Easter, vj^{s} ij^{d}." There was a font-taper at Yatton in 1549 (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, Som. Rec. Soc., p. 161).

[3] At the christening of Prince Arthur, 1486, "the Sergeant of the Chandlery bare a taper garnished with 4 wreathen boughs." At a like occasion, 1489, the Earl of Essex "bore a taper with certain boughs flourished and unlit to the churchward . . . and as soon as she was put into the font all the torches were lit, and the taper also" (J. Leland, *Collectanea*, London, 1770; iv. 205, 253–54).

were lit immediately after the child was dipped in the font,[1] and accompanied the child to the altar, where gospels were read over it, and it was confirmed. On Easter Even and Whitsun Eve there were in addition the two lights held by the taperers. When Confirmation was administered immediately after Baptism, such lights as were lit then remained, no doubt, for the bishopping. But in the vast majority of cases this sacrament was administered by the roadside,[2] so that there were *no lights at all.*

Lights at some Lesser Offices.

Those who brought bread for the holy loaf (*pain bénit*) generally offered a candle as well.[3] A taper of some sort was held by folk who did penance in public.[4]

[1] "When they come to the church, the torches to stand unlit about the font, as near the wall as may be . . . and when he is christened, then all the torches to be lit. Then the child to be borne up to the high altar, and there to be confirmed" (J. Nichols, *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations, etc.*, London, 1790; p. 126). And for the practice, see Leland, *op. cit.* iv. 182, 206, 254, and also i. 691 for the christening of the child of Lady Cicily, in 1565.

[2] St. Hugh gained a reputation for reverence because he always got off his horse to confirm, unlike certain others (*Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, Rolls Series, 1864; p. 140). But on some occasions there must have been lights in the church (*e.g.* Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera*, Rolls Series, 1877; vii. 94).

[3] Stanford-in-the-Vale: They offer to the curate's hand two pennyworth of bread with a halfpenny candle, or a halfpenny for the candle put into a taper and brought up to the priest at the high altar (*Antiquary*, 1888; xvii. 70). So at King's Lynn (Hist. MSS. Comm. *Eleventh Rep.*, Appx. iii. p. 161). At St. Michael's, Bath, there is an annual item of receipts "de candelis provenientibus cum pane benedicto" (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 36, 39, 42, etc.). It was ordered by Giles of Sarum in 1256 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 714).

[4] *E.g.* 1337, to hold a lighted taper, one lb. in weight, in the nave from

Bridegrooms and brides in some parts each held a taper, and presented it at the offertory.[1] Again, at churching, the woman held a lighted taper[2]: sometimes those who came to funerals held lighted tapers,[3] in addition to the

the time of procession until the offertory, then to offer the taper in person at the high altar to the celebrant (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rep. on MSS., Wells Cathedral*, p. 180). See Charles Wriothesley's *Chronicle of England*, Camden Soc., 1875; i. 130, etc.).

[1] Const. Giles, Bp. Sarum, 1257: "Mulieres desponsatae et mulieres post parientes debent accedere ad ecclesiam cum candelis accensis" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 713). See *Officium Eccl. lib. Eveshamensis Monast*, 39, 185; *Manuale Ebor.*, 164*. Philip and Mary "entered the quire hand in hand under a canopy borne by 4 knights towards the high altar, where after they had kneeled a while with each of them a taper, they arose," etc. (*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, etc., Camden Soc., 1850, p. 141; Ch. Wriothesley, *Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1875; ii. 121).

[2] See note above. The second deacon at Coventry used to "deliver to the churching of women a taper and bread for holy bread" (*Brit. Mag.*, vi. 265). There were "two candlesticks for women's purifying" at St. Peter's, Cornhill, in 1546 (*Antiquary*, 1897; xxxiii. 312). Bolton Abbey, 1312: "Et in j candela data dicte Domine [Lady de Clifford] ad purificationem suam, xv^{s} iij^{d}" (T. D. Whitaker, *History and Antiq. of Deanery of Craven*, London, 1805; p. 334).

Compare the following:—In 1494, when a princess was married she had "to keep her chamber all day" on the morrow, "and on the third day to come to the chapel and offer her taper, etc." (Nichols' *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations*, London, 1790; p. 129).

[3] *E.g.* at that of Henry VIII. At Eton "all the young children, scholars of the College, in their white surplices, bare-headed, holding in the one hand tapers, and in the other books" (J. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, vi. 284). See also *Diary of John Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; pp. 71, 75, etc. So at the funeral of George II., Nov. 11, 1760 (*Gent. Mag.*, 1760; xxx. 540). In Worcester diocese, 1219, the pascall was ordered to be melted down and made into tapers for the use solely at funerals of the poor: "Ut post festum sanctae Trinitatis fiant cerei minoris portionis de cereo Paschali qui tantum cedant in usus pauperum mortuorum" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 571). And in Winchester diocese in 1308, the pascall was to be removed from its candlestick after Trinity Sunday, and either left to burn in the church or smaller candles to be made of it (*ibid.*, ii. 298). The churchwardens provided these

lights around or on the herse[1], and the torches held by the bedesmen and bedeswomen[2]: and frequently those who took part in the procession,[3] especially that on Candlemas-Day, bore them.[4]

lights on some occasions, *e.g.* 1498: "Item, received for waste of Torches at the burying of the same Thomas, 2^{s} 1^{d}" (Kerry, *History of St. Laurence, Reading*, p. 50).

[1] The number of lights around the herse was usually four or five. The Earl of March, 1380, had only five tapers of wax, which were afterwards distributed to the churches near Wigmore Abbey "for the use of the Holy Sacrament" (N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, London, 1826; p. 110). John Stoke, 1393, had eight tapers, four of which were about his body during the exequies, viz. one at the head, one at the feet, and one on either side, with four others on the herse, and six torches carried (T. P. Wadley, *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills . . . at Bristol*, Bristol, 1886; p. 41). John Viel, in 1398, only had two (*ibid.*, 57). Nicholas Waleys, 1402, had five tapers (*ibid.*, 65). The parish churches in London kept "a solemn dirge by night with a herse and two tapers and a knell" for Henry VIII. on Feb. 8, 1547, and "a solemn obit with knell, the bells ringing, and a herse with two great tapers" for the French king on June 29, 1547 (Ch. Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, i. 181, 184). Six tapers were most unusual, one might almost say unknown. An example of a herse surmounted by many lights may be seen in Abbot Islip's funeral in Westminster Abbey, about 1522 (*Vetusta Monumenta*, London, 1815; iv. pl. xviii.). The plate shows some bedesmen holding staff torches, and the altar bare of cross and lights.

[2] John Shipward, 1473, ordered four large and four small tapers to stand on the herse, with two standards burning with oil day and night, from the burial to the month's round, and twenty-four torches to be held about his body by twenty-four poor men in gowns of black frieze with hoods of white frieze (*Bristol Wills*, 158).

[3] Dec. 8, 1554, "every man and woman, knights also, and gentlemen, bearing green tapers burning" (Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, iv. 399. *Machyn's Diary*, 78). Oliver Claymond in 1540, besides providing for the pascall and sepulchre light, found yearly four staff-torches and the garnishing of twenty-four other torches for the Corpus Christi procession at All Hallows, Staining (R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, ii. 646).

[4] Ludlow, 1547: "Paid for 2 lb. of holy candles at Candlemas, 2^{s}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts . . . of Ludlow*, 29). There was often a handle provided for the priest's candle. St. Margaret Pattens, 1470: "A thing

The tapers and torches that were carried in the Corpus Christi and other processions, or held at sacring, as well as the votive tapers set before images, were often coloured *green* with verdigris, and are often described[1] as "flowered" or "garnished" with artificial flowers made with red and green wax, or with "wreathen boughs," or "trimmed with flowers."

to bear holy candle in on Candlemas-day for the priest" (*Archaeological Journal*, 1885; xlii. 325). "The bearing of candles was left off throughout the whole city of London" on Feb. 2, 1548, although there had been no order for so doing having authority of Parliament (J. Stow, *Annales*, London, 1631; p. 595). In 1494, Henry VII. ordained that "on Candlemas Day the Chamberlain, or a Baron or Earl, may bear the King's taper, going on the King's right hand, against the steward, going in procession; and on Easter-day, the King must bear his taper himself" (*Collection of Ordinances and Regulations*, London, 1790; p. 116).

[1] The Gild of Peltyers [Furriers] at Norwich provided two flowered candles before St. William's tomb in the minster of the Trinity on the Sunday next after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (*English Gilds*, p. 30). The Brotherhood of St. John the Baptist in the Hospital of the same, Winchester, in 1391 provided 13 square tapers weighing 15 lbs., and the flowers and roses put on them took 3 lbs. of wax (Historical MSS. Comm., *Sixth Rep.*, Appx., p. 600); red and green wax was bought in 1394 to make flowers for adorning the wax candles called torches, on the feast of Corpus Christi; in 1396, 8½*d.* was spent on verdigris for making the torches green; in 1399, white, red, and green flowers for torches and tapers cost 5*s.* 10*d.* (*ibid.*). At St. Andrew Hubbard, London, 1497: "Item, paid for garnishing of xvj torches for Corpus Christi tide, 3^{s} 9^{d}" (*British Mag.*, 1848; xxxiii. 568, and *passim*); 1536: "Item for vj lb of wax to garnish two torches, 3^{s} 6^{d}" (*ibid.*, xxxiv. 397). Yatton, 1477: "for verdigris for torches, 5^{d}"; 1512: "for flourishing wax, 12^{d}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Society, 1890; pp. 110, 136). Morebath: "A taper before Saint Sidwell trimmed with flowers to burn there every high and principal feast" (*ibid.*, 213: *Western Antiquary*, 1893; xi. 129). See also *Diary of Henry Machyn*, 63; and *Gesta Abb. Mon. S. Albani*, i. 286.

The Pascall.

On Easter Even the pascall, or Easter taper, was solemnly blessed by a deacon in cathedral and other churches; and it was commonly found in English parish churches during the second and even the third and fourth years[1] of Edward VI. It was, according to the rubric, placed on a large standing candlestick, but in many places it was hung from the roof in a basin; and it was often ornamented in a most elaborate fashion, with little flags, wax flowers, ostrich feathers, etc.[2] Fire having

[1] For 1550, see N. Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841; pp. 320, 532. And for 1551, Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings*, Parker Society, 1852; p. 129.

[2] As in many London churches and elsewhere, *e.g.* St. Andrew Hubbard, 1458: "Paid for a dish of latten for the pascall, 4^{s}; Item, a rope for the pascall;" 1466: "For wire to the pascall, 4^{d}"; 1520: "Paid for a cord for the pascall, 2^{d}" (*British Mag.*, xxxi. 246, 402; xxxiv. 32; xxxv. 180). St. Margaret's Southwark, 1485: "A bason of latten for the pascall, nine bannerettes thereto of talbot and ostrich feathers" (*Brit. Mag.*, xxxiii. 180). St. Margaret Pattens, 1470: "A bason of pewter with four small square bowls for the pascall" (*Archaeological Journal*, 1885; xlii. 315). St. Christopher le Stock, 1488: "A bason with chains and a star of latten for to hang in the pascall at the season of Easter" (*Archaeologia*, 1877; xlv. 117). St. Nicholas, Bristol: there are payments of 1^{d} in 1520, '22, '27, '33, "for apples for the pascall;" 1542, for four yards of blacked cloth, for the pascal tree, 15^{d}, for 1½ yard of Taffeta for to make streamers for the pascall, 4^{s}, also for painting and guilding the head of the pascall (*MS. Accounts in the vicar's custody*). At All Saints', Bristol, 1464: "A bowl of tree for the pascall;" 1444: "For four pensels to the pascall, 8^{d}; for making of a wheel for the pascall, 10^{d}" (*MS. Inventories and Accounts in the vicar's custody*). Ludlow, 1547: "For making the *alleluias* upon the pascall upon Easter-day and paper to make them, 9^{d};" 1549: "For seven lb. of wax to make the pascall, 4^{s} 8^{d}" (*Churchwardens' Accounts . . . of Ludlow*, 30, 38, 39). At St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, they had "a lamp for the pascall" in 1542 (*Archaeologia*, 1887; l. 46). The Treasurer of York Minster had to provide

been newly "struck out of a flint stone" or obtained from crystal or a burning glass, and duly blessed, the pascall was lit therefrom by means of a taper, made of three candles twisted into one and joined at the lower end but divided above, and mounted on a long shaft, according to the Sarum rubric. However, in many places they put three candles on a cross or banner-staff instead; and the shaft was headed with the "effigy of a serpent" in some places.[1]

the pascall, and all things thereto belonging, colours, flowers, and cords, as well as other things belonging to the Dove (H. Bradshaw and Ch. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97; pt. iii. p. 98). The Dove belonged to the Whitsuntide ceremonies (*ibid.*, pt. i. p. 336: pt. ii. p. 165). The *Judas*, so often mentioned in connexion with this and other lights, is the wooden block around which the wax was cast to make it go further. St. Mary at Hill, 1512: *i.e.* the timber that the wax of the pascall is driven upon (J. Nichols, *Illustrations, etc.*, London, 1797; p. 107). In the St. Nicholas, Bristol, accounts, there is usually a note at the end of the waxmaker's charges, such as this in 1527: "Discounted for the Judases, 2^s 2^d;" showing that the whole thing went to the waxmakers embedded in the remnants of the candles; and that it was not the same as the unauthorized dummy now so much in vogue. The pascall was provided by the parishioners (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 714; ii. 280).

[1] St. Andrew Hubbard: Three candles for the cross in 1492, 1494 (*Brit. Mag.*, xxxii. 393, 397): for tenebre candles and for cross candles in 1526, '27, '35 (*Brit. Mag.*, 1848; xxxiv. 182-83, 396). Stratton, Cornwall, 1557: "Paid for candles to put upon the banner staff, 1^d" (*Archaeologia*, 1880; xlvi. 225). Heybridge, Essex, 1297: "una lingua serpentina cum virolis et parvo baculo de argento" (*Visitation of Churches, etc.*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 19). At Hereford, on Easter Even: "deportetur lumen in quadam hasta ab Acolytho, in cujus summitate effigies serpentis habeatur" (*Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herefordensis*, Leeds, 1874; p. 97). In the woodcuts which illustrate some editions of the Sarum processional, the triple candle issues from the mouth of a beast (see Dr. Henderson's edition, Leeds, 1882; pp. 76, 80).

Lights retained before Images.

Besides all these ceremonial lights there were some others which ought to be mentioned; those in the rood-loft, about the Sepulchre, and before the Sacrament, which were especially retained by Henry's Injunctions, although they were lights burning before images. The number of rood-tapers seems to have varied in each church, and often there was a lamp hanging before the rood as well.[1] Thus at Tintinhull, Somersetshire, there were forty lights in 1451[2]; St. Margaret Pattens,[3] had "sixteen bowls of latten for the rood-loft, small and great," in 1486; St. Christopher le Stock[4] had thirty bowls for the same in 1488, as well as a lamp; at St. Ewen's, Bristol,[5] they had for rood-lights, "twelve square bowls" holding square tapers, and "three small bowls of tin before the rood-beam above," in which were three round tapers. At All Saints', Bristol,[6] they had thirteen bowls of latten for the rood-loft in 1464: and exactly the same number were found at St. Pancras[7] in 1549. Often the rood-light, like other lights, was partly

[1] *E.g.* St. Nicholas', Bristol, 1540: "For scouring the lamp that hangs before the rood-loft, 4[d]" (*MS. Accounts*). St. Christopher le Stock, 1488: "There is a Lamp hanging before the Rood in a basin of latten" (*Archaeologia*, 1880; xlv. 117).

[2] *Churchwarden's Accounts*, Somerset Record Society, 185.

[3] *Archaeological Journal*, 1885; xlii. 323.

[4] *Archaeologia*, 1880; xlv. 116.

[5] *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* 1890-91; xv. 153, 269, 281, 295.

[6] *MS. Accounts, etc.*, p. 329.

[7] *Visitation of Churches, etc.*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 119.

supported by gilds, or by special collection.[1] The lights set before the Easter Sepulchre, burning from after mass on Good Friday until Easter morn, were equally variable in number: and sometimes they were set on a frame, sometimes hung.[2] At St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,[3] they had "twenty-two dishes of pewter for the Sepulchre" in 1466; at St. Andrew Hubbard,[4] there were "twelve tapers for the Sepulchre-light" in 1537: that before the Sacrament seems never to have exceeded one, either a lamp, or a basin with a candle in it, suspended by a cord or chains, or both.[5]

[1] R. Hilles to H. Bullinger, Dec. 18, 1542: "I refused to give a small piece of money (for the honour of God, as it is commonly said), according to the annual custom of the parish, for placing large wax candles in the church before the Crucifix and the Sepulchre" (*Original Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 230). R. Hawker left some money in 1486 to the sepulchre and pascall lights for the relief of poor parishioners of St. Margaret's, Lothbury (Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, ii. 594). Richard Jones in 1444 did the same for them of St. Nicholas, Bristol, to the pascall and font-taper (*MS. vestry-book*, fol. 20). There were special collections for the rood (or beam) light and pascall at St. Andrew Hubbard (*British Magazine*, xxxi. 526, 530, 535; xxxii. 30, 151, etc.). The Gild of the Resurrection at Lincoln, 1374, provided twenty round wax lights for the Sepulchre (*English Gilds*, 176).

[2] Stratton, 1530: "Paid for making of a frame to set tapers in afore the Sepulchre, 12[d]" (*Archaeologia*, 1881; xlvi. 211). So at Long Melford (J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Churches*, ii. 13). St. Nicholas, Bristol, 1532: "Paid for pins and the mending of that the sepulchre-light hangyth on, 2[d]" (*MS. Accounts*). At St. Laurence, Reading, we read of these lights standing on a frame, or loft, and as "beam-lights over the Sepulchre" (Kerry, *History of St. Laurence, Reading*, 42, 43, 53).

[3] *Archaeologia*, 1887; l. 35. [4] *British Mag.*, xxxiv. 397.

[5] *E.g.* At St. Thomas M., Newport, I. of W.: "A lamp burning night and day afore the Sacrament in the quire, the which lamp hath thirteen pounds a year to help to maintain it" (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1850; v. 353). Bequests to the maintenance of this light are very common; but it

Priests who carried the Eucharist to the sick were preceded by some one carrying a light,[1] in accordance with *Decret. Greg. IX.*, Lib. III. tit. 41, cap. x., and its expression by Friar John Peccham in 1279.

Salve-light.

It was a general custom after complin to sing the anthem to our Lady known as *Salve Regina*, either

was not a necessary light unless the church had sufficient means (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 557), and its use seems to have been largely due to the preaching of Eustace, Abbot of Flay, A.D. 1200 (Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, Rolls Series, 1874, ii. 465: and R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, 1882, viii. 182, 183). The three basons before the high altar having continual lights at Durham were *not* before the Sacrament, but in honour of St. Cuthbert and his relics (H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, London, 1691, i. 723). "Before the High Altar, within the Quire above mentioned, were three marvellous fair silver Basons, hung in chains of silver. . . . These three silver basons had latten basons within them, having pricks for serges, or great wax candles to stand on, the latten basons being to receive the drops of the candles, which did burn continually, both day and night, in token that the House was always watching to God. There was also another silver bason, which did hang in silver chains before the Sacrament of the foresaid High Altar, but nearer to the High Altar than the other three, as almost depending or hanging over the priest's back, which was only lighted in time of mass and therafter extinguished" (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842, p. 12). "Before Relics of Saints upon some goodly and costly pillow, two or four wax tapers are lighted . . . whereas about the Sacrament there doth scarcely one poor candle burn" (*A work entytled of y^e^ olde god and the newe*, London, 1534, a translation of a German book).

[1] Lindewode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii., tit. *De reliquijs*, cap. *Dignissimum*, Antwerp, 1525, fol. clxx.: and Oxford, 1679, p. 249. St. Nicholas, Bristol, 1539: "For making of a visiting torch, I^s^" (*MS. Accounts*). Leverton, Lincolnshire, 1535: "For a bowet [lantern] to bear light in afore the Sacrament 12^d^" (*Archaeologia*, 1867, xli. 353). This custom still obtained in 1551 (*Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, Parker Society, 1852, p. 147).

before her image or the altar dedicated in her honour: and while it was in singing, a branch of five lights, in signification of the five joys (*gaudia*, gawdies) of our Lady, was lit and burned before the image or on the altar.[1] At a large number of churches these lights were provided by a fraternity existing for that purpose.[2]

At All Saints, Bristol,[3] in the fifteenth century they kept up a "Jesus Anthem" as well, which was sung before our Lady altar. Harry and Alson Chester, about 1470, gave "in the worship of Jesus to the foundation of a mass of Jesus by note to be kept and continued every friday in this church, and likewise an anthem", a certain tenement; Maud Spicer "provided iij tapers of wax before the image of Jesus, there to burn at Jesus mass on the friday and at the anthem at night"; and "John Lee gave 4^{s} yearly out of the corner house next

[1] Lindewode, *Prov.*, lib. i., tit. *De major. et obed.*, cap. *Presbyteri*, verb. *alie hore;* Antwerp, fol. l., and Oxford, p. 70. St. Nicholas, Bristol, 1527: "Paid for mending the candlestick that standeth on the altar at our Lady anthem, 12^{d}" (*MS. Accounts*). Wm. Palmer, 1348, provided five tapers to burn in the chapel of St. Katharine in the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, every night whilst *Salve Regina* is being sung (Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, i. 538). See *Testamenta Vetusta*, 353: Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1716, p. 34. Sometimes only one or two tapers were used, as at Astley in 1343 (Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1830, vi. 1373), and St. Mary Ottery (G. Oliver, *Monast. dioec. Exon.*, p. 273). See *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, Early English Text Society, 1882, pp. 81–114. The time for this is no longer provided, unless some bishop authorizes it as an extra service.

[2] See R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, i. 641; ii. 114, 157, 165, 173, 189, 225, 267, 294, 339, 496, 550.

[3] *MS. Accounts, etc.*, pp. 139, 148, 161.

to All Hallows' conduit, to find v tapers before our Lady altar at Jesus anthem."

This "Jesus Anthem" was not a mere local use, but obtained in many parts of England. It is ordained in the statutes for the College of Middleham[1] in 1478 that on every Friday night, "betwixt five and six of the clock, the anthem of Jesus be sung." Dean Heywood of Lichfield (1457–1492) ordained that six vicars and four choristers should sing a devout anthem of the name of Jesus immediately after complin was over, on every Friday in the year before the image of Jesus, and made provision for lights at the said anthem.[2] *Salve* of Jesus[3] was kept up at St. Leonard, Eastcheap, London, in 1481. The Fraternity of Jesus and the Holy Cross at the collegiate church of St. Edmund at Salisbury provided for the singing of *Salve* every Friday in Lent.[4]

Lights before relics were hardly in use or existence in the second year of Edward VI., as in most cases the relics had been dispersed or destroyed, and in all the endowments had been annexed by the Crown: and of course the Injunctions of Edward VI. were opposed to the practice.

The Trendle.

Such were the chief lights ceremonially used in the reign of Edward VI. Other lights, solely for the

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, 1857, xiv. 165.

[2] *Archaeologia*, 1890, lii. 631, 632.

[3] R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, London, 1889, ii. 583.

[4] *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 1896-97, xxix. 144.

purpose of giving light, were often provided when need was[1]; and amongst them that known as the *trendle* may probably be included, although it seems to have been of decorative purpose as well. It does not seem to have been specially connected with any feast, although it is often associated with the tenebre-lights, the Pascall, and the font-taper.[2] The trendle, rowel,

[1] *E.g.* H. E. Reynolds' *Wells Cathedral*, 50: The ministers of the altar, and also at all reading and singing in quire, to have *minutae candelae* if necessary. For Lincoln and York, see Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892–97, i. 291; ii. 99. St. Mary at Hill, 1482: "Three dozen and ½ tallow candles for the quire, 3ˢ 4ᵈ;" 1510: "For three dozen of cotton candle for the quire and the morrow-mass for all the year, 3ˢ 6ᵈ" (J. Nichols, *Illustrations*, 95, 105). Stanford-in-the-Vale, 1553: "The bowett [lantern] before the vicar in the quire." "For tallow candles burned in the church on Christmas-day in the morning, 2ᵈ" (*Antiquary*, xvii. 118, 119). St. Stephen, Coleman Street, 1466: "Six sconses for the quire" (*Archaeologia*, 1887, l. 44). The deacon at Coventry used "on Dedication-day in the morning [to] bring forth into the quire such sconses for to set in candles for the quire as be ordained there for the winter time" (*British Magazine*, vi. 264). At the altar of St. Laurence, St. Alban's Abbey, in 1429, there was a bronze candlestick with a prick and two nozzles for putting light in in winter and at other times (*Annales Mon. S. Alb.*, J. Amundesham, Rolls Series, i. 450). There were cressets and lanthorns at Durham (*Rites of Durham*, 2, 5, 19).

[2] Pilton, Somersetshire, 1509: "For wax for the trendle and making, 2ˢ 6ᵈ;" 1510: "For a rope for the trendle, 9ᵈ" (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, Som. Rec. Soc., 57, 61, 76, etc.). Tintinhull, 1439: "In j trendale lignale empto de novo, 2ˢ 9½ᵈ; item in 4 lb. cere emptis pro dicto trendale faciendo et le pascal taper, ijᵈ;" 1430: "Pro una corda empta ad le trendel, 3ᵈ;" 1436: "De candelis venditis de trendale, 1½ᵈ" (*ibid.*, 176–9). Croscombe, 1475: "Comes John, and brings in of the remain of font-taper and trendle" (*ibid.*, 3). Yatton, 1446: "For making the trendle, 10ˢ 4ᵈ; for colours to the trendle, 20ᵈ;" 1448: "Recepimus pro candelis de rota, ijᵈ;" 1465: "Received for candles to the trendle;" 1479: "Paid for the mending of the reel and painting of the same, 3ˢ 8ᵈ;" 1547: "For wax of the reel, 9ᵈ" (*ibid.*, 83, 89, 103, 111, 159). More-

rota, or reel, was evidently a *corona*, or circular frame on which candles were set, hung by cords from the roof. At St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,[1] in 1466, there was "one pin with a wheel for to put candle thereon," which was something of the same sort: and in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Nicholas', Bristol,[2] there is frequent mention of a light called the branch-light, which held eighteen bowls of pewter for tapers, and green wax bowls for ornament as well; but this, in Elizabeth's reign at any rate, hung "in the church" as a Christmas decoration only.

Shields on Tapers.

The shields so commonly used to adorn tapers at the present time are an unauthorized imitation of the mediaeval practice of putting shields, with the arms of the deceased thereon, on the tapers about the herse

bath, 1529: Item for a cord to hang the trendle withal, 3^{d} (*Western Antiquary*, 1893, xi. 42). Bridport, 1460: "For a cord to the trendle, 3^{d}" (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Sixth Rep.*, Appx., 493). They made a new trendle at St. Laurence's, Reading, in 1502, and there are payments for a cord to it, for the trendle-wheel, a bolt and swivel, poles, and for colours, and painting it (Kerry, *History of St. Laurence, Reading*, 53).

[1] *Archaeologia*, 1887, l. 35.

[2] In the waxmaker's account for 1521 are mentioned the fourteen tapers of the round-light (probably a *trendle*), and the eighteen tapers of the branch light; 1554: "Pd. for eighteen bowls of pewter for the branch, 5^{s} 8^{d}; Pd. for making of the wax for the branch and for the green bowls 10½^{d};" 1562: "Paid to the waxmaker for the working of 5 lb. wax and for the green bowls for the branch, 8^{d};" wax for the branch at Christmas continues as an annual payment until 1604 inclusive.

and on the altar at funeral services. The following extracts from a chronicle of the time of Edward III.[1] illustrate the custom: "After this the king sent unto them secretly, commanding them to call all the citizens together, and to make one cierge [taper] with the arms of the duke his son on it, and to carry the same in solemn procession to St. Paul's Church, where it should continue to burn before the image of the glorious Virgin, continuated at the charge of the city." This was done; and the Duke of Lancaster was much annoyed "chiefly for that while he was well in health and alive, they had in such sort offered his arms drawn on a wax candle."

Shields, except at funerals of armigerous persons, are not lawful on candles, inasmuch as they were not in use at all in any year of Edward VI., nor ordered by any authority. They seem to have been introduced of late years to hide the join between the real and the sham candle. Is it too much to hope that hereafter only that which is real and can be burnt as candle may be set on the candlestick? One great incentive to the use of these dummies has been the desire to keep a row of six lights on the altar all at one height or in one arc. We know now that not more than two lights were set on the altar in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.; and, if we are not lawless, we shall not have any more now. Moreover, it is not so difficult to keep two real candles at the same height. Nor should they be of

[1] *Archaeologia*, 1829, xxii. 272. Cf. *Diary of Henry Machyn*, 59, 70, etc.

great length, but of due proportion to the candlestick.[1] The sight of what a writer in the *Church Review* (6 May, 1897) describes as follows should never be seen: "On a ledge behind the altar amongst a crowd of flowers stood the six Renaissance[2] candles—six *ardent* protestants mounted on as many 'Judases,' all bent on blotting out the painted beauty of a Gothic reredos with their defiling smoke." Hereafter, then, let us hope never to see more than two tapers on our altars,[3] and these real, and of wax throughout, and not candles mounted on painted sticks.

The use of ceremonial lights continued on through the reign of Edward VI., unforbidden except by two lawless bishops (Ridley and Hooper); both of these, in 1550, forbad any light to be set on God's board,[4] and

[1] In old illuminations the candle is generally only as high as the candlestick, or at the most but very little higher. *E.g.* the pictures reproduced in *The Churchman's Oxford Calendar* for this and previous years, edited by Dr. J. Wickham Legg.

[2] The six lights are first ordered in Christopher Marcellus' *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum* Libri tres, Venice, 1516, fo. 140, for masses celebrated by a cardinal or prelate; which represents the practice of the end of the fifteenth century. John Burchhardt of Strassburg, *supra omnes bestias bestialissimus*, as a contemporary writer describes him, (*Il Diario di Leone X. di Paridi de Grassi*, Ed. Armellini, Rome, 1884, p. 96) and a thorough pagan, seems to have originated them.

[3] These two altar tapers weighed 2 lbs. at St. Nicholas, Bristol, in 1520, for our Lady mass. In 1527 six tapers for altars weighed 3 lbs., and two standards weighed 10 lbs. (*MS. Accounts*). At St. Ewen's, Bristol, in 1555, two tapers to the high altar cost 1*s.*; two standards weighing 3 lbs. cost 3*s.*; two standards and two tapers weighing 4 lbs. at 12*d.* the lb. cost 4*s.* (*MS. Accounts* in the custody of the Rector of Christ Church with St. Ewen). Two new standards weighing 4 lbs. cost 2*s.* 4*d.* at All Saints', Bristol, in 1482 (*MS. Accounts*, p. 597).

[4] N. Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society, 1841, p. 319. Bishop Hooper's

the latter forbad a light to be borne before the Eucharist when the priest carried it to the sick.[1]

The absence of processional candlesticks in any inventory does not prove that lights were not carried in procession in the church to which the inventory belonged: as the altar-candles were sometimes used for the double purpose of altar lights and processional lights. Thus at St. Christopher le Stocks, London, in 1488, there were "ij candlesticks of a suit to set on smaller tapers [*i.e.* than those in the standards] upon the altars, and to bear tapers upon, of laton,"[2] and at the Brigettine house at Syon we find the same practice.[3]

Later Writings, Parker Society, 1852, p. 128. But in Elizabeth's reign the Ornaments Rubric covered a crucifix and lighted tapers on the altar, for on 17 April, 1565, Richard Tracy wrote to Cecil, recommending that the Queen should forbid any graven image to be placed, or tapers lighted, on any altar (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1547–1580, Public Record Office, 1856, p. 251). See also p. 15, note 3.

[1] *Later Writings*, 147.

[2] *Archaeologia*, xlv. 112.

[3] G. J. Aungier, *History of Syon Monastery*, 275, 342.

THE ENGLISH ALTAR AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

By J. N. Comper.

This paper is an attempt to touch on the ideal of the altar and its ornaments, and of such other ornaments of a church as most depend upon the altar, or influence its adornment. I have considered that this ideal is expressed by the term *English*, because it is to be found at its best in the general average customs of the English churches, which came to perfection in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but lingered in a more or less mutilated form until, only in our own time, they have been positively contradicted. And at the outset I will admit that I find this ideal to lie in the old order of these things, not merely because it is English, for it is not peculiar to England ; but because its customs seem to me to excel, in reasonableness and beauty, any that it has ever been given to men to invent in the service of religion.

Yet, in order that the ideal may have weight, it must be shown not only that it has at one time been national (and in the main, more than national in its extent) and is neither original, nor eclectic, nor founded

on the exceptions of any given period, but that it is still binding upon us.

By what is known as the "Ornaments Rubric" in *The Book of Common Prayer*, the customs of the period of the fully developed English architecture, unless they can be shown to have changed by the year 1548–49, or to have been altered in that year by the authority of Parliament, are handed on intact to us; we are given no new liberty, and no new obligation is laid upon us. The customs of that time are held up to us as the ideal to which we are bound to conform; and much has been done lately in clearing away misapprehensions of what these customs are, and in fixing the ornaments retained in that year.

A little more stress than has, perhaps, been usual I would lay upon the evidence of pictures, and on that of the Flemish pictures of the fifteenth century in particular. We have no pictures nearer home than these that can be so entirely relied upon as accurate in what they show. Miniatures, even though they be English ones, might prove unsafe guides if taken by themselves. Owing to their small size and often purposely contracted perspective and general freedom of treatment, they might justly be deemed barely conclusive were they not borne out by these larger pictures, whose accuracy no one could question after close examination of them. To go no farther than our National Gallery, a careful comparison of these Flemish pictures with other work will show convincingly that

they stand alone, amongst all schools of painting, in their absolute fidelity to nature, even in the smallest details, and in the way this carefulness of detail is maintained throughout the whole of each work. There is very little in the customs shown by such of these paintings as I shall refer to, or in the miniatures (the majority of which, though painted in England, are Flemish or French work), that is peculiar to Flanders or France. It is not difficult to separate what is common to English churches in them and what is distinctively foreign; apart from the fact that we have our written witness, which is in itself a sufficient check against error in this direction. Again, besides pictures and this written witness, gathered from such sources as contemporary descriptions, inventories, accounts, wills and decrees, there are the fabrics of our chancels, concerning which the order was given, and stands to-day, that they are to "remain as they have done in times past;" and also such ornaments in them as have escaped entire destruction in the long history of defiance to this rule. But, as with the miniatures, still more here is caution needed in drawing conclusions. From Queen Mary's time onwards, if not earlier, certain alterations, quite apart from wanton destruction, have been made which are easily overlooked. And the existence of an ornament, even in its completeness, is not in itself sufficient to explain its use. Just, then, as the written witness alone can establish what the ornaments are, so, in cases where tradition has been broken, it is

only the pictures that can adequately interpret their use.

It is from these various sources that I gather conclusions that differ substantially in detail, and altogether, so it seems to me, in principle, from some of the ecclesiological customs common amongst us at present. And although the old customs had assumed forms so debased and careless that there was excuse for the impatience and the ignorance of the old traditions they enshrined, which, instead of reforming them, thrust them aside to make way for innovations (some copied from the latest developments abroad, some apparently the inventions of the innovators, but all mischievous in their common result of breaking, at a critical time, our external continuity with the past), yet we are not without warning that it is an ignorance that is disastrous from whatever point of view we regard the matter.

I would, however, approach the subject from the special point of view of architecture. It is only in this that I have anything fresh to say. I would show one ornament in its relationship to another, and so bring out the reasonableness and beauty of the whole; and, negatively, the failure, even in beauty, attendant on neglect of an exact obedience to our traditions. This age, it must be admitted, is conspicuous for the absence of any national style of architecture. While, on the contrary, it might perhaps be truly said of the late middle age, that architecture, if we take into account all that the term may include, was its strongest

characteristic. Surely, then, it is rash to think that we can now, of all times, ignore with impunity the rules of architecture so strictly observed then. And the rashness will appear even greater when we remember that these rules were observed in their chief points, however incompletely, until the principle of obedience was reasserted with a new emphasis in the days of the Oxford movement, even to the extent of a return to English forms in architecture.

And I would make good my claim that the customs, which I have distinguished as English, are the most reasonable and beautiful, on the very simple ground that they are the expression of that style of architecture which alone is adequately characteristic of Christianity, because it is the only purely original style that Christianity has produced. Architecture, indeed, was to find a higher level than it ever knew, even under the Greeks; but it is not surprising that it took thirteen or fourteen centuries of development upon the Roman architecture, as Christianity found it, to reach this level. Having reached it, it is true that it fell away, looking back to the very paganism it had conquered; but it left us with the "Gothic" as our last national style. For such the "Renaissance" cannot claim to be; since it was but the incoming of that individualism distinct from national development from which we suffer now. It was no step forward, but a return, though it betrayed itself at first in detail of form only, to a past—and what is of consequence to us, to a pagan time. The Renaissance,

so-called, of architecture, it ought not to be forgotten, began abroad as the expression of an affected paganism, only real in its disbelief in Christianity.

If this could be realized by those who are anxious, either as a general rule or in exceptional cases only, to introduce Italian ornaments and customs ; also the fact that they are designing something that is quite new in England, and which is contradictory of the whole history of our English churches ; then much of the evil that, since the days of the Oxford movement, has begun to threaten us might be averted. Even the latest Georgian church contains within its awkward shell the essential characteristics of our old churches ; it only requires the old details restored to it to give it beauty. Doubtless, to the popular eye, such a restoration would alter it out of all recognition ; but it would do no violence to it. On the other hand, if we wall up its east window and erect a modern Italian altar, with a *baldachino* or a "high dorsal" over it, though we have perhaps altered it less externally, we have done violence to the whole history of English ecclesiology.

The accompanying engraving illustrates the truth of this paradox, in immediate bearing on the altar itself, although in another country. Dr. Wickham Legg has supplied me with this instance, from his *Cæremoniale Parisiense,* of the date 1703. It will be seen from this illustration that the ancient ornaments of the altar, common to England and to France, are untampered with as regards their essentials, though every detail is

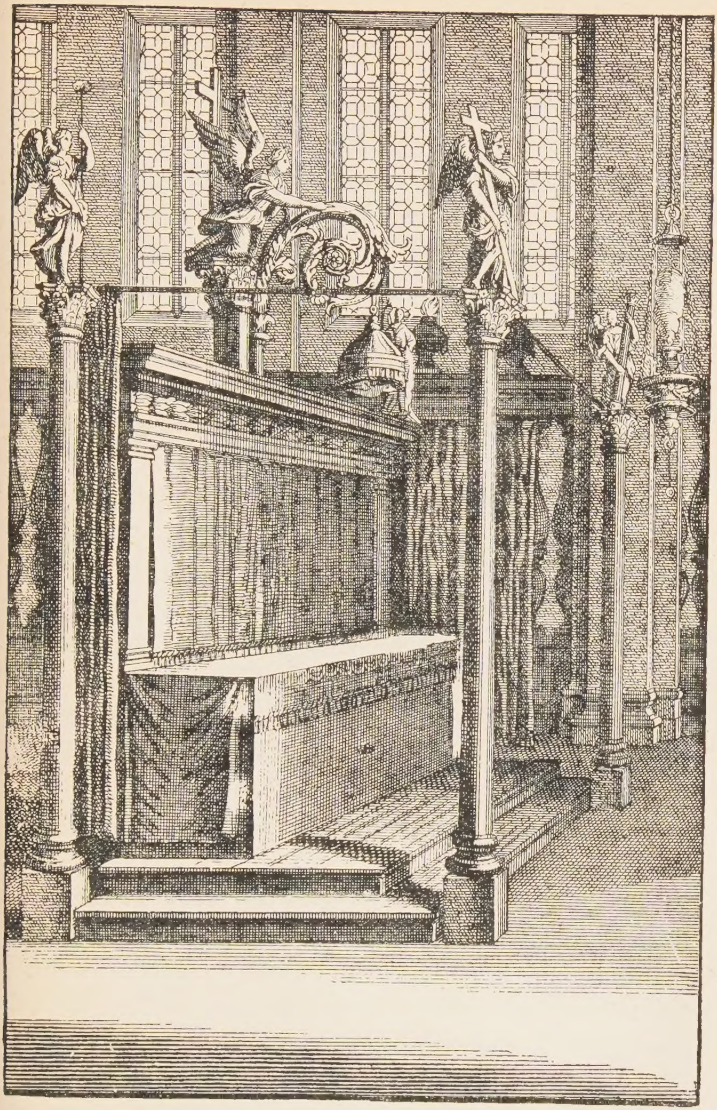


FIG. 1.—ALTAR WITH HANGING PIX IN THE FORM OF A DOVE.
(From *Cærimoniale Parisiense*, Parisiis, 1703, p. 25.)

clothed in the latest classical forms. To the hasty glance there is nothing "Gothic" about it; but, if we penetrate beneath the surface appearance, it reveals almost startlingly how well tried and deeply rooted were the Gothic customs, that they survived more than two centuries of the Renaissance, and are to be found even amongst the French classicism of the eighteenth century. In other words, these customs remained superior, as they ever should do, to the changing fashions of their clothing. For while the old customs of the Church in each country and the essentials of its ornaments were respected, and none who loved the Church lifted their hands against them, their clothing of necessity changed with the change of style in architecture. It is only in our own days that men have been so theatrical as to clothe their houses in one style and their churches in another. It was right that if one changed the other should change also; since as long as any breath of life was left in architecture, no man could work sometimes in the details of one period and sometimes in those of another, as the scene-painter of the modern stage must do.

But compare with this picture even the best examples of modern altars that profess to be "Gothic," and we find that exactly the opposite process to what it records has taken place: that is to say, modern or Renaissance arrangements have been clothed in medieval forms and made to thrust out what are medieval essentials.

Not that this further departure from our old customs

under cover of the re-introduction of what is only superficially medieval, was ever intentional. Yet, while the first mistakes made were only from want of knowledge, we now suffer far more seriously from want of recognition of any such moving and restraining powers as principle and precedent, even if we do not pride ourselves in being ignorant of them, or in setting them aside.

Far different was it with the beginning of the "Gothic revival," because it was consciously felt to be the revival of that architecture which alone is distinctively Christian and distinctively English. It sprang up as the inevitable result of the re-assertion of Catholic theology of half a century ago. It was as far removed from æstheticism and theatricalism as when, six centuries earlier, Christian architecture first freed itself from pagan forms. If anything new marked its revival, it was rather a greater sternness, a too painful striving after symbolism, which was the outcome of its horror of what is meaningless and unreal.

The greatest characteristic of that architecture, viz. its quiet, practical common sense and truth to nature (a harmony with nature so complete that it seems to have shared in the absence of self-consciousness and toil in beauty; that characteristic of nature pointed out by her Creator for our consideration),[1] may have been obscured by a too rigid formality, but it was not flatly contradicted, as it is by the sensational theatricalism and æstheticism of to-day.

[1] See St. Matthew, vi. 28 and St. Luke, xii. 27.

The special endeavour of the present paper, in considering these ornaments in detail, is to assert again the old principle of common sense and truth to nature, by contrast with the unreasonableness and theatrical spirit that marks our present customs with regard to them. The principle of obedience to *The Book of Common Prayer*, which should move us to be ruled by the old customs, has been more often insisted on; their inherent naturalness and healthfulness perhaps less so. And men have shown themselves more eager, under the cover of the Ornaments Rubric, uncritically to accumulate ornaments and ceremonial, than to continue or correct what they may find in use, after the pattern laid down for them. Yet how can corrections or additions be made, according to this pattern, without some insight into the spirit by which it was produced?

I.—The East Window.

I have divided my subject into twelve points, which, as far as is possible, I have kept distinct. The first, because it strikes the most obviously characteristic note of our generally square-ended churches, is the east window. Yet of necessity, the greater part of what has to be said about this comes under the headings of the Reredos and Chancel Screen.[1] Here I would call attention to the three following points:—

First, the east window is an invariable ornament of every English church that has been built from the

[1] See pp. 89–97, and 113–119, below.

earliest times down to the end of the first period of the Oxford movement, inclusive, with only such exceptions as are given by a few college chapels, which terminate in altar screens against their adjoining buildings. Secondly, it is large in proportion to the scale and magnificence of each church. As an extreme case, take that of Tintern, besides later examples such as those of Selby, York, and Fountains. And thirdly, its sill, even at its highest, is always what we now consider very low. To mention three chance parish churches, the sill of the east window of three lancets at Cantley, in Yorkshire, is 6 feet 3 inches above the altar pace; of a window of the latest possible "perpendicular" in the adjoining parish of Hatfield, 6 feet; of a "decorated" window of five lights at Geddington, Northamptonshire, 7 feet 3 inches.[1]

The east window being so prominent a feature of an English church, it is but natural that painted glass (itself the fitting product of the religion of light) should have reached such a height of beauty and gloriousness as it did in this country in the fifteenth century. Little

[1] The unusual case of Long Melford, where the sill of the east window is 17 feet 6 inches above the altar pace (see E. Lauriston Conder, *Church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk*, London, 1887. Longitudinal section opposite to p. 16) really affords no exception to this rule, as the large eastern chapel makes a low window an impossibility. At St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, the sill of the east window is now 15 feet 6 inches above the present altar pace; but probably there were two more divisions of glass, bringing the sill 6 feet lower. Certainly the window jambs run down below the lead of the present vestry roof, which is 4 feet 6 inches below the present sill; and beneath the sill the space between the jambs is filled in merely by bricks.

of it remains, but there is enough to show that no fairer, nor more suitable, termination of the perspective of a church could be found than this.[1]

II.—The Pix for the Eucharist.

But the perspective of a church did not terminate merely in the painted glass of the east window. It would be more truly said to centre in the pix for the Eucharist, which hung suspended in front of its glass, as against a jewelled nimbus. Surely here we have the key to the whole arrangement of the English parish church.

No more central nor dignified position for the tabernacle of the Divine presence could be found than this, above the high altar and yet not attached to it; nor one, at the same time, more suggestive of the spiritual and immaterial. It has well been likened to St. John's vision of the holy city let down from heaven: *ecce tabernaculum dei cum hominibus*.[2]

And it is significant, that as the holiest place of the heathen temple, and even of the temple of the old covenant, lay shrouded in the blank mystery of darkness; so the Christian temple, when it had at length passed beyond these earlier traditions by which it first was modelled, should surround the mystery of the Divine presence by a flood of light from painted windows, glistering like the sky at sunrise.

[1] See, *e.g.*, the glass of this date in All Souls' and New College antechapels at Oxford, and in the cathedral and parish churches at York.

[2] See Rev. xxi. 2, 3.

At Salisbury, in the inventory of 1222, we meet with the "Item, corona una argent. cum cathenis iii. argent. cum columba argent. ad Eukaristiam."[1] But in the inventory of 1536, "A Pyx of Ivory bound above and beneath with silver and gilt, having a squared Steeple on the Top, with a Ring and a Rose, and an Escutcheon in the bottom, having within a case of Cloth of Gold, with J.H.S. on every side set with pearls. Item, a round Pyx, silver and gilt, with the Sacrament, weighs eighteen ounces."[2]

The receptacle for the Eucharist in the doves, to judge from some remaining examples, was very small, and was not locked; and it is significant if at Salisbury the use of the dove was abandoned.[3] Far more generally in the late medieval period in England, as appears from inventories and other documents, the pix took the form of a cup. Indeed, Mr. St. John Hope tells me he knows of no other mention of a dove in England, and that even contemporary English custom would make it more probable that the early Salisbury pix was not itself of this form. It is so described as equally to allow the interpretation that the dove was upon the height of the *corona*, as was the pelican at Durham; or holding the pix in its mouth, as in the late tapestry of Montpezat,

[1] *Registrum Sancti Osmundi*, Rolls Series, London, 1884, vol. ii. p. 129.

[2] William Dodsworth, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See, and Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Salisbury, 1814, p. 229. Also J. E. Nightingale, *The Church Plate of the County of Wilts*, Salisbury, 1891, p. 237.

[3] See Archbishop Peccham's Decree, in the note on p. 61, below.

of which Dr. Rock gives a woodcut.[1] At St. Paul's, seventy-three years later (1295), the following items appear in an inventory under *Cupa et Pixis ad Eukaristam:* "Una cupa argentea tota deaurata, cum opere levato de leunculis, et aliis bestiis, cum cathena argentea appensa, ad usum Eukaristæ appendenda ultra Altare in Festis, de dono H. Regis, ponderis ciii s. Item una Pixis argentea deaurata, cum opere cocleato, et cathena argentea, ponderis ii. marc. et v d."[2]

Possibly the last pixes made, or ordered to be made, in this country, were by command of Henry VII. "Forasmuch," he says, "as we have often and many times, to our inward regret and displeasure, seen at our Jen, in diverse and many Churches of our Realm, the holy Sacrament of the Altar kept in full simple and inhonest Pixes, specially Pixes of copper and timber; we have appointed and commanded the Treasurer of our Chamber, and Master of our Jewelhouse, to cause to be made forthwith Pixes of silver and gilt, in a great number, for the keeping of the holy Sacrament of the Altar, after the fashion of a Pix that we have caused to be delivered to them, every of the said Pixes to be of the value of iiii*l.*, garnished with our arms, and red Roses and Portcullis crowned: of the which Pixes we will, that to the laud and service of God, the honour of the holy Sacrament of the Altar, the weal of our soul,

[1] Daniel Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, London, 1853, vol. iii. part ii. p. 204.

[2] William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, London, 1818, p. 311.

and for a perpetual memory of us, every house of the four orders of Friars, and in likewise every Parish church within this our Realm, not having a Pix, nor none other honest vessel of silver and gilt, nor of silver ungilted, for the keeping of the said Holy Sacrament, have of our gift in our life one of the said Pixes, as soon and speedily as goodly may be done."[1]

No doubt the general shape of these was the same as that of a pix shown in a miniature of an early fifteenth century MS. described as French, which is visible immediately under a small cone-shaped and fringed canopy, and has no other cloth or veil. It hangs from a bracket projecting from a tall pillar in front of the central mullion of the window, and behind the low reredos.[2] A pix in actual use at St. Pol de Leon, in Brittany, is suspended in a somewhat similar way to this.

The bracket at once recalls the famous description in the *Rites of Durham,* which, though so well known, I cannot refrain from quoting here. "Over the High Altar did hang a rich and most sumptuous Canopy for the Blessed Sacrament to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French Peere,[3] very finely gilt, which held the canopy over the midst of the said High

[1] Thomas Astle, *The Will of King Henry VII.* London, 1775, pp. 37, 38.

[2] British Museum, Add. MS. No. 16,997, fol. 120. This pix (and that shown in the tapestry of Montpezat, which is also without a pix cloth) clearly could not stand, and must have been opened at the side. The canopy is white, and is only twice the diameter of the pix.

[3] The altar-screen of French stone.

Altar (that the Pix did hang in it, that it could not move nor stir), whereon did stand a Pelican, all of silver, upon the height of the said canopy, very finely gilded, giving her blood to her young ones, in token that Christ did give his blood for the sins of the world; and it was goodly to behold, for the blessed Sacrament to hang in, and a marvellous fair Pix that the holy blessed Sacrament did hang in, which was of most pure fine gold, most curiously wrought of goldsmith work. And the white cloth that hung over the Pix was of very fine lawn, all embroidered and wrought about with gold and red silk, and four great and round knops of gold, marvellous and cunningly wrought, with great tassells of gold and red silk hanging at them, and at the four corners of the white lawn cloth, and the crook that hung within the cloth that the pix did hang on, was of gold, and the cords that did draw it up and down, was made of fine white strong silk."[1]

And in an inventory of 1517, of the goods of the municipal church of St. Lawrence, Reading, there was a "canopy of tissue for the Sacrament and a lawnd with iiij buttons wrought with gold, and tassells of gold for the pix."[2]

A pix cloth answering very much to the description of these at Durham and Reading is still in existence

[1] *A Description of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customes belonginge or beinge within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression*, written in 1593, Surtees Society, 15, London, 1842, pp. 6, 7.

[2] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading, 1883, p. 108.

at Hesset Church, in Suffolk. I quote the Rev. W. Cooke, who speaks of it as "square, measuring on each side 2 feet 5½ inches; made of linen, worked into a pattern resembling lace by the drawing out of some threads and the knotting of others. Around it is a silk fringe of rose and yellow, one inch in width, the colours alternating in spaces of an inch and a half. At one corner a gilt ball is still appended with a tassel of silk, of the same colours as the fringe; the other balls, three in number, have become detached. In the centre is a round hole, in diameter rather more than an inch, bound with silk ribbon that shows a quarter of an inch on each side."[1]

How these cloths fell in folds round the pix can be very faintly traced in the Islip roll, a parchment in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, which shows the presbytery of Westminster at the time of the funeral of the last abbot but one before the Suppression. This roll (*circa* 1532) contains ink drawings of the very highest merit, though now obscured in places, and is of the greatest value, as it gives an exact representation of the high altar at that time. Beneath the beam which carried the rood, Mary and John and the two cherubim, and upon the stone screen which still exists (though the reredos is gone) was another screen of open timber; and in the middle of this screen a table stepped up in the middle, with two leaves to open and shut. And

[1] *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History*, Bury St. Edmund's, 1874, vol. iv. p. 329.

over the table (or triptych) projected a great tester of timber, and close up against the face of this, and immediately over the altar, hung a triple crown; and from beneath it fell the folds of the cloth which concealed the pix, and is shown about half the diameter of the lowest crown.

The triple crown is met with again in Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund;* but the pix in this miniature is visible through a transparent veil which surrounds it like a bag.[1] Also in the Inventory of St. Margaret Pattens, 1470, we read: "Item a Cup of latten to put in the sacrament. Item a Canopy with iij Crowns of latten to hang over the sacrament."[2] Nor is the timber

[1] British Museum, Harl. MSS. No. 2278, fol. 53. Mr. C. Krall has a circular cup of hammered copper gilt in his collection, which bears a very striking resemblance to the pix shown in this definitely English miniature. The circular steeple is gone from the lid; without it the vessel is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The lid hinges on one side, and on the other the eyes remain by which it was secured with a pin, attached by a chain to the cup at a point now only indicated by a hole. The stem is slender, and has a small knop and a flat base $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter; and it is remarkable that the inside of the base is gilt, and as carefully finished as the rest. I understand it was the universal practice to leave the inside of the base of a gilt vessel ungilted, so that the metal of which it was made might be seen by inverting it; but only thus. This would almost conclusively show that the cup in question was seen from beneath; that is, that it was suspended above the eye. Another cup, believed to be also of English workmanship, has the same general form, but is of hexagonal shape and of even more beautiful proportions. It is, however, of cast latten gilt, and is left rough inside the base. The fastening of its lid looks as if it had been secured by a padlock. With the use of the pix cloth (and of such a lid as is shown in this miniature) it must have been necessary to unhook the pix in order to open it, and therefore it was essential that it should be able to stand.

[2] *Archæological Journal*, London, 1885, vol. xlii. p. 315.

tester peculiar to an abbey church. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite quotes descriptions of two. The first at Clun Church, Shropshire: "over the central east window" (of three lancets) "is suspended from the roof a canopy composed of thirty panelled squares in oak, and at its western angles and centre are three angels."[1] The second, at All Saints' Church, Goosey, is thus described by Mr. J. H. Parker: "Over the altar a flat perpendicular tester, painted with emblems of the Crucifixion, etc., and above this, on the east wall, a painting of the Crucifixion."[2] He adds that it has since disappeared.

It is remarkable that several other miniatures, both English and French, also show circular but much larger canopies than that in the miniature above mentioned, suspended from the roof over the altar, but without any trace of the pix beneath them.[3] Possibly the chapels pictured in these miniatures were not parochial, and had not the privilege of reservation granted them. Be that as it may, it was binding on every parish church to reserve the Eucharist, and there are many instances in inventories, such as the one at Reading already given, of canopies for the pix, of various materials, that probably took a circular form. Sometimes the canopy appears to have been covered with leather.[4] At West

[1] *The Builder*, for 1877, vol. xxxv. p. 877.

[2] *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England*, Oxford, 1850. Diocese of Oxford, Deanery of Abingdon, 61.

[3] *E.g.* British Museum, Cotton MS. Domit. No. 17, fol. 11. Add. MSS. No. 16,997, fol. 145, and No. 18,850, fol. 32.

[4] J. Ch. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints, Derby*, London, 1881, p. 163. "A red leather

Grinstead, in Sussex, there is still in existence a lever in the roof above the high altar, which would seem to point to the use of such a canopy as these. By its simple mechanism both pix and canopy could be drawn down within reach of the hand, and being let go, would right themselves to their usual position in front of the window.

Nothing could be simpler than such an arrangement; and should the church adjoin to the priest's house an electric bell, that would ring there each time the pix was drawn up or down, would give all the security required, in addition to well-barred screens and locked doors; but otherwise more protection is no doubt called for in these days. And already Dr. Rock, in advocating the restoration of the use of the suspended pix amongst the English Roman Catholics, pointed out that the pix could be hung high enough to be far above reach; and the hidden chain, which let it down, connected with a bell that would give warning if it were tampered with.[1]

Clearly by this, or any such mechanical contrivance as the particular circumstances of each case may suggest, the suspended pix may be made even more secure than the fixed coffer on the altar.[2]

Yet when, in the fifteenth century, the same need of

case to do about the canopy"; and on p. 171 "Item one leather case to do about the canopy."

[1] Daniel Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, London, 1853, vol. iii. part ii. p. 208.

[2] Indeed, the only thing that could be conceived as of greater security is a burglar and fire-proof safe; and, letting alone the fact that such security as this was never contemplated, good feeling would shrink from a protection so grossly gained as this.

greater protection for the pix than the then existing arrangements gave presented itself to Lyndewode, as appears by his gloss on Archbishop Peccham's decree of 1280, it is strange that no such safeguards should have occurred to him. For his words express a full approval of the English custom except in this one respect, viz. that the pix was within reach of any sacrilegious hand.

If the intention of Archbishop Peccham was to introduce a fixed locker for the tabernacle, Lyndewode, at least, seems to know of no traces of its having been fulfilled. It is abroad only that he has seen such a tabernacle as appears to him fittingly secure; and there it is not such a tabernacle as is most common now; but "locus singularis honestus prope altare in quo reponitur eukaristia sub clavibus infra parietes vel locum bene munitum conservanda."[1]

[1] *Provinciale Wilhelmi Lyndewode*, Paris, 1505, Liber iii. fol. 135, verso. The following is the text of Archbishop Peccham's decree, and the chief part of Lyndewode's gloss on the word *clausura*:

"Eucharistia in tabernaculo clauso idque in pixide decenti ne atteratur custodiatur et singulis dominicis innovetur (Ib. fol. 135, recto).

"Dignissimum eukaristie sacramentum precipimus de cetero taliter custodiri ut in qualibet ecclesia parrochiali fiat tabernaculum cum clausura [e] decens et honestum secundum cure magnitudinem et ecclesie facultates in quo ipsum dominicum corpus non in bursa vel loculo propter comminutionis periculum nulla tenus collocetur, sed in pixide pulcherrima lino candidissimo interius adornata: ita quod sine omni diminutionis periculo facile possit extrahi et imponi.

[e] . . . et ex hoc videtur quod usus observatus in anglia ut scilicet in canapeo pendeat super altare non est commendabilis: . . . licet enim consuetudo anglicana commendabilis sit illa consideratione qua citius representatur nostris aspectibus adoranda: non tamen est commendabilis eo respectu quo ponitur in loco publico sic quod ad eam manus temerarie de facili valeant extendi" (fol. 135, verso).

Cardinal Pole, indeed, prohibited the suspended tabernacle, and made a fixed locker above, or near, the high altar to be the rule ; but with this we are not concerned. How sudden an innovation it was, is shown by Thomas Becon's *Displaying of the Popish Masse:* in which book it appears that he knows nothing of the change ; but, supposing that the old custom continues, he constantly refers to the pix hanging above the altar.[1] Any exception, therefore, to what Lyndewode calls the "consuetudo anglicana," previous to 1549, must have been very rare indeed. The only two cases I know of are those given by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.[2] The first occurs in the *Inuentory of Synt Stephnes in Colmanstrete*, 1466, under "Cheste and Almoryes" ; "Itm j coffin for to keep the sacrament on the high auter."[3] And in connexion with it, under "Juelis" should be read: "Item a Cup of Copper over gilded for the sacrament on the high altar."[4] The second is as late as 1547. It occurs in the churchwarden's accounts of St. Margaret's Westminster. I give the entry with its context of some other items spent that year, the significance of which is plain :

"Also paid in Christmas quarter to Goodman *Burton*, for making of the stone in the body of the church, for the priest to declare the Epistles and Gospels, 2s.

[1] Thomas Becon, *The Displaying of the Popish Masse*, London, 1637, pp. 50, 111, 118, 166, 168, 195, 198, 203, 204, 295, 296, 305.

[2] *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. ii. p. 315. See also *Alcuin Club Tracts*, I. "The Ornaments of the Rubric," 1897, p. 29, in which Mr. Micklethwaite adds a very dubious case from Ripon Minster.

[3] *Archæologia*, London, 1897, vol. l. p. 44. [4] *Ibid.* p. 34.

"Also paid for a honest dish of meat, and for wine for the King's visitors, 12s. 8d.

"Also paid for making of a little coffer upon the high altar, for to set in the Sacrament, with other necessaries, 1s. 4d.

"Also paid to *Thomas Stockdale*, for xxxv ells of cloth for the front of the rood-loft, wheras the Commandments be written, price of the ell 8d.

. . . . . .

"Also paid for 11 wainscot boards for the high altar, 1s.

"Also paid for the writing of the Scriptures upon the same boards, 5s.

"Also the said accomptant hath received for images and for curtains, £3 6s. 8d."[1]

The following entry also is worth noting, as showing that, in that church, they had had experience of the pix being stolen: in 1531, "for meat for the thief that stole the pix, 4d."[2]

But I may remark that we do not know what form either of these coffers took, nor how they were arranged in regard to their surroundings; while, on the other hand, the various ways in which the pix was suspended are well known to us. In short, if it be pleaded that such a coffer, did we know how to reproduce it, comes within the letter of the Ornaments Rubric, with equal

[1] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.*, London, 1797, pp. 12, 13.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 10.

exactness we may reply that the fixed locker in the gradine, now usual abroad, is not permitted by it. "The Warkleigh Tabernacle" has been quoted as an example that is still in existence of a coffer for the reserved sacrament, earlier than 1549. But although the painted panels, of which its sides are composed, are no doubt earlier than the reign of Queen Mary, the base, as its mouldings betray, can hardly be before her time; and the fact that the devices of the panels are cut into shows clearly that, whatever might be their previous history, they were painted before they were put together in their present form.[1]

In Scotland, however, though only so late as in the sixteenth century, there seems to be little doubt that the suspended pix was abandoned for a side aumbry or sacrament-house, if we may take the diocese of Aberdeen as representative. For though we read, in the cathedral registers, in a visitation of the jewels by Bishop Elphinstone, on the first day of March, in 1496: "Item, unum *lie cowp* argenteum deauratum pendens coram magno altari seu eucharistia,"[2] in an account of the ornaments of the high altar, under the next Bishop, Gavin Dunbar, (*circa* 1530), mention is made of the *domus sacramenti;* while, still later, further mention of the sacrament-house occurs more than once. The Rev. T. E. Bridgett, a

[1] This coffer is figured and described in the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, New Series, Exeter, 1892, vol. v. pp. 128–130.

[2] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, vol. ii. p. 167.

more recent Roman Catholic writer, relates that "the only unmistakable example" that he has met with, previous to Queen Mary's reign, "of a fixed tabernacle erected on the altar, or in immediate connexion with it,"[1] is the following, which I give at length from the inventory of 1542, at King's College Chapel, Aberdeen: "Altare venerabilis sacramenti constructum per prefatum rectorem de Kynkell. Super hoc altari est locus pro sacramento, figure pyramidalis per eundem rectorem donatus."[2] He does not, however, mention that this altar was on the north side of the chapel, *i.e.* in the same position as the aumbries that remain in several other churches of the diocese, the sculptures on which (such as the legend, "Hic est servatum corpus de virgine natum," found at Kinkell and Auchindoir) leave no room to doubt they were sacrament-houses.

The late Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, revived this old use in his diocese, but, unfortunately, it has elsewhere given place not to the former custom of the suspended pix, but to the modern form of a locker let into or standing upon a gradine.

The example of the altar on the north side of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, is possibly, but not necessarily, an exception to the rule so carefully followed in England, viz. that all the altars should face in one direction, ideally eastwards. But it furnishes no exception to the rule that the Eucharist was reserved at,

[1] T. E. Bridgett, *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, London, 1881, vol. ii. p. 90.

[2] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1854, p. 565.

or hard by, the high altar; and never, apparently, in a separate chapel.

The one object of the pix was to provide for the communion of the sick and dying: hence an injunction like that of Richard de Marisco (Bishop of Durham) in 1220, ordering that one pix should always remain in the church, and in another, the Eucharist should be carried to the sick. Only so could the Church's rule of reservation to meet sudden and unforeseen need be strictly kept; for in parishes of any size, while one priest had taken the pix away, another call might come.[1] This injunction is illustrated by the following entries in the inventory of 1515, of St. Martin's, Outwich, London:—

"Item, a pix of silver for the sacrament, pois xv unc' di. of Troy.

"Item, a box of silver for the sacrament, in visitations, with Ihs on the covering, and arms on the side, enameled, pois ij unc' di. and qr. of Troy.

"Item, the said box of silver was put into the pix when it was new made and gilded in anno 1522." (This last entry in another hand.)[2]

But, also, as this last entry indicates, the pixes of

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737, vol. i. p. 579. "His adjicimus, quod, cum eucharistia ad ægrum fuerit deferenda, habeat sacerdos pixidem mundam et honestam, ita scilicet quod una semper in ecclesia remaneat, et in alia, in qua sit eucharistia in bursa posita mundissima, in ea deferat corpus dominicum ad ægrotum, linteo mundo superposito, et lucerna præcedente, nisi æger valde remotus fuerit, et cruce similiter, si fieri potest, nisi crux fuerit ad alium ægrotum deportata."

[2] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.*, London, 1797, p. 271.

the later shape, whether used for the purpose or not, were large enough to contain the crystal in which the Eucharist reserved for the monstrance was placed. Probably, however, they were never required for such a purpose, as it would appear that the use of the monstrance was confined to certain rare occasions, as in the Palm Sunday, Easter morning, and Corpus Christi processions.[1] There is absolutely no proof of any English precedent for the modern Continental customs of "exposition" and "benediction." Thus, while it is of the greatest importance that this should be remembered, it should, at the same time, be borne in mind that the monstrance, as a shrine in which to carry the Eucharist, is included in the ornaments of 1548–49.[2] We may be pardoned for finding a difference between the old and the modern use of the monstrance. Indeed, the very shape of it that was most characteristic of that time, differs from what is characteristic of it now. The crystal cylinder on its slender stem, surmounted and flanked by three spires of goldsmith's work, is, one may truly say, the supreme triumph of Christian architecture in its perfection of elegance and strength of form; and the cylinder enclosing the crystal disk which contains the Eucharist, though not always found in the medieval monstrance, gives just that fine sense of reserve that the

[1] See *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, pp. 10, 11, and 89, 90; and John Preston Neale, *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain*, London, 1825, vol. ii. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk, pp. 13, 14.

[2] See Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, *Alcuin Club Tracts*, I. under *Standing Pyx* and *Canopy for Processions*.

almost invariable Renaissance circle of rays, surrounding the naked disk, found on the Continent to-day, has entirely lost. But I believe the cylinder still survives at Milan, and its use has been revived in the north.

III.—Lights.

The Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, in 1240, order "Ut aliquid lumen sit, ubi fuerit eucharistia"; which light is to burn continually in churches that have sufficient means.[1] And there are numerous mentions in old documents of foundations for wax and oil to maintain this light. In the miniature referred to above, in which the pix appears,[2] there is a row of three tapers indicated on the north wall between the windows (no doubt implying three others opposite to them), mass is being said, and there are six tapers round a bier, but no other lights. In the Islip roll no lamp nor light of any kind is shown. But at Durham we read: "Before the High Altar, within the Quire above mentioned, were three marvellous fair silver Basons hung in chains of silver; one of them did hang in the south side of the Quire, above the steps that go up to the High Altar, the second on the north side opposite to the first, the third in the midst, between them both, and

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737, vol. i. p. 667. "In ecclesiis autem, saltem, quarum amplæ sunt facultates, continue lampas ardeat, die videlicet et nocte, coram redemptionis nostræ pignore supradicto. Non solum autem verba canonis distincte proferri volumus, sed et psalmos, et hymnos et cætera omnia, quæ hujusmodi sunt, et subsequentia et præambula sacramenti." See quotation from the *Rites of Durham*, below on p. 80.

[2] British Museum, Add. MS. No. 16,997, fol. 120.

just before the High Altar. These three silver basons had latten basons within them, having pricks for serges, or great wax candles, to stand on, the latten basons being to receive the drops of the candles, which did burn continually, both day and night, in token that the House was always watching to God. There was also another silver bason, which did hang in silver chains before the Sacrament of the foresaid High Altar, but nearer to the High Altar then the other three, as almost depending or hanging over the priests' back, which was only lighted in time of mass and therafter extinguished."[1] Also in the accounts of the parish church of St. Lawrence, at Reading, in 1537, occurs the following item: "Paid for scouring the beam hanging before the sacrament, viijd." This beam would appear to be the same that, in the sale of 1547, is described, under goods of latten, as "a beam with ten candlesticks and spindels."[2]

In regard to the altar lights, we meet with another injunction, viz. that of Archbishop Walter Reynolds (1313–27), that "at the time when the solemnities of mass are performed, two candles should be lighted, or one at the least."[3] What we know of the practice of that time onwards, until the close of the first period of the Oxford movement, in large and small churches in

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 12.

[2] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading, 1883, pp. 27 and 54.

[3] Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, Paris, 1506, Liber iii. fol. 129, verso, under ¶ Sacerdos curet . . . nec . . . celebret . . . sine lumine . . . et tempore quo missarum solennia peraguntur accendentur due candele vel ad minus una.

England, points to the recognition of such a simple rule, and of no other. Nevertheless, we are often told that even if we do not conform to the modern practice of Rome in this matter, we are bound by the old rules of Sarum, set forth in the *Registrum S. Osmundi.*

But, if we are bound by them, it is only in so far as these somewhat obscure and widely, if not universally, misinterpreted rules for lights, agree with the general use of the fully developed medieval period in England, which continued in the year 1548–49. Whether they are still binding in the cathedral church of Salisbury or not, is a separate question ; but that they are, or ever were, of obligation for other churches cannot be shown. The book that contains them is a purely cathedral book ; and it is moreover of early date: both matters of some importance, which are overlooked. They are rules drawn up for that particular church, and their observance in smaller churches would rob them of that dignity and beauty, with a view to which, in regard to their particular surroundings, no doubt, they were designed. For other cathedral churches even, such as Lincoln and Chichester, had their own rules for lights, which, though contemporary with these of Salisbury, differed from them. Different churches and their ornaments (like different trees and their leaves) betray principles common to each other, but neither is designed of one pattern. Thus, even when the Salisbury books were adopted in many dioceses, the Salisbury ceremonies did not follow the books. We learn from the contemporary evidence of Clement

Maydeston (fifteenth century) that this was the case. He gives, as an example, the use of St. Paul's, where they followed the Salisbury books in all that they said and sang, but followed none of the Salisbury ceremonies, retaining the old ceremonies of St. Paul's. He distinctly states that the ceremonial rubrics (under which heading the number and position of lights must reasonably be included) only bind the clerks of Salisbury cathedral church. If others follow the ceremonial rubrics, it is a self-imposed rule.[1] With the adoption of the Salisbury books, this liberty in ornaments and ceremonial remained unimpaired ; and in like manner with the adoption of *The Book of Common Prayer* it was still untouched.

Nevertheless, the directions for extra lights in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*[2] are most valuable, as an instance of the further general principle that the presbytery round about the altar was adorned with lights ; just as one or two candles set on the altar itself at service time only, or held in the minister's hands, were for the sake of a definite symbolism.[3]

[1] *Defensorium Directorii ad usum Sarum*, in Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Oxford, 1882, 2nd Edition, vol. ii. pp. 350–365. The *Defensorium* was first printed in 1488, and went through several editions. "Sciendum quod in ordinali Sarum, duæ sunt species rubricarum. Quædam sunt rubricæ generales, quæ ponuntur in libris ad instruendum qualiter antiphonæ et responsoria sunt dicenda, et quomodo memoriæ sunt habendæ, et tales rubricæ quilibet institutus infra sacros ordines tenetur observare. Sunt aliæ rubricæ cærimoniales, quæ solum obligant clericos ecclesiæ Sarum, et omnes illos qui se sponte obligaverunt ad tales cærimonias custodiendas et non alios ut inferius latius patebit."

[2] *Registrum S. Osmundi*, Rolls Series, London, 1883, vol. i. pp. 8, 10.

[3] See *Provinciale Wilhelmi Lyndewode*, Paris, 1505, Liber iii. fol. 29,

All representations of the celebration of mass, that I have been able to find, bear out this conclusion. In a large Flemish picture (exhibited at Burlington House in the winter of 1891, and with many other pictures of the same school, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club the following summer), remarkable for what may be called its historical accuracy of detail, which represents St. Giles saying mass in the presence of the king at St. Denys, the only light is the torch held in the clerk's hand.[1]

An even finer picture in Antwerp (Roger Van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments) shows the same thing, but with the addition of one candle at the south end of the screen altar, illustrating Myrc's rhyme:

> "Look that thy candle of wax it be,
> And set it, so that thou it see,
> On the left half of thine altar."[2]

The mention of single candlesticks in inventories is very common;[3] and Becon, alluding to the candle at mass in the singular number, brings the custom down to 1549.[4] A late medieval picture in the Antwerp

verso, gloss N under ¶ Sacerdos curet . . . nec . . . celebret . . . sine lumine. . . .

". . . Candela namque sic ardens signat ipsum christum qui est splendor lucis eterne. . . ."

[1] See Illustrated Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of Netherlandish School*, London, 1892, p. 13.

[2] *Instructions to Parish Priests*, London, Early English Text Society, 1868, p. 58.

[3] See, *e.g.*, pp. 77, 78, and 107, below.

[4] Thomas Becon, *The Displaying of the Popish Masse*, London, 1637, pp. 50 and 296.

gallery shows two tapers on the altar, and no others elsewhere, although a pope stands before it with the monstrance in his hand.

In a miniature already mentioned are seen two tapers held by the epistoler and gospeller as they lift the chasuble at the elevation, two on the altar itself, and two at the extremities of the upper frontal rod above it.[1] Others show simply the two tapers on the altar.[2]

In a MS., described as Henry VI.'s book of hours,[3] a very beautiful and probably representative use of lights is shown, viz. four tapers held by angels standing, one at each corner of the altar, on the capitals of the pillars that support the curtain-rods. The same arrangement may be seen in the Flemish picture of the exhumation of St. Hubert, in the National Gallery. Sometimes, however, the rods came out beyond the front of the altar, as in the picture of the Mass of St. Giles; or, instead of tapers, the angels held instruments of the Passion, as at the high altar in Van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments, and in the woodcut above on page 47. Examples of the only candles with regard to whose position there is no obscurity in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*, the two, viz., that stood "in gradu coram

[1] British Museum, Add. MS. No. 16,997, fol. 145.

[2] *E.g. ib.*, Harl. MS. No. 2846, fol. 32; and Kings ix. fol. 138. The miniature preceding initial letter of the commemoration of the Holy Cross. Hence possibly the T-shaped cross without a figure, standing on the altar and rising above the reredos.

[3] *Ibid.* Cotton MS. Domit. No. 17, fol. 11 and 122.

altari," are to be found in inventories of parish churches. In that of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, 1466, under "Laton:" "Item a pair of standards for the high altar with Coverings of Calves leather made therefor to Cover them with."[1] And another instance at St. Christopher le Stocks, 1488: "Item ij *large* pair of long latten Candelsticks one pair to Set before the high altar and the other pair to serve for Obits to Set on the Tapers . . ."[2]

In a very late French *Hore B. Marie Virg.*, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries,[3] there appears a reredos carrying on its curved top seven small basons, the central one holding a lily, and each of the others a taper, attached to the reredos as part of its fixed decoration. This instance is remarkable as bearing a superficial resemblance (precedent in no case could an isolated late French example be said to give) to the use of six candles which has lately threatened to be general amongst us. It is a miniature worth notice, not as furnishing any pattern of great beauty or dignity, but a certain reasonableness in the arrangement of the six candles, by comparison with which the modern custom is found wanting, and its claim to be medieval confuted. For, first, in the miniature, the candles are above the reredos, and so do not hide nor smoke it; while the

[1] *Archæologia*, London, 1887, vol. l. p. 34.

[2] *Inventory of St. Christopher le Stocks*, 1488. Edited by Dr. Edwin Freshfield, London, 1886, p. 68.

[3] Society of Antiquaries' MSS., No. 13. *Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis*, miniature opposite to the first page of *hore de sancto spiritu.*

modern custom does both by setting them in front of it. Secondly, the candles in the miniature taper, and are each of a single length of wax; and they are arranged in a curved line, which prevents any irregularities in burning distressing the eye. But now (because it is recognized that such a row of candles must be tall to have any dignity, and that, if they are in a single length of tapering wax, they are not only costly, but so many side by side in a level line can scarcely be made to look straight or burn evenly) they are joined in the middle, and the joint is concealed or not, as the case may be, by a trifling row of shields, bare of heraldry. Or with better but admittedly theatrical effect, the candles are placed on springs inside tin cases. And these, on the Continent, really taper, as the "stocks" often do with us; but, with unsightly effect, the candles stuck upon them practically never. Two examples previous to the year 1548–49 have been adduced of the altar lights exceeding two in number; but they give no countenance to the modern custom. They are quoted in Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite's paper on *Parish Churches in the Year* 1548.[1] For the first we have to look to France, that is to say to the royal chapel set up on the Field of the Cloth of Gold: an occasion of special ostentation, when the altar was "appareled with five pair of Candlesticks of gold."[2] It is no doubt an

[1] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv. p. 386.

[2] *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548, vol. ii. fol. 73, verso.

example of the custom common in royal chapels of covering the altar, on great occasions, with as much plate as can be crowded upon it.[1] But it is difficult to see the important bearing on the customs of an English parish church that has been found in this meeting of Henry VIII. with Francis I.

The second example is seemingly of more consequence, and occurs in a paper embodying the Statutes of the cathedral church of Chichester, of the date 1232, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1874, by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. This clearly states, as transcribed, that at that date seven, five, or three candles, according to the rank of the day, were "supra altare maius;" and compared with the expression that follows, "supra trabem pictam supportantem crucifixi ymaginem viii.," it is fairly reasonable to suppose that "supra altare maius" may be rendered as equivalent to "upon the high altar."[2] Yet for all this, the instance has but little practical importance; for not only is it drawn from a cathedral church, but the whole arrangement of the altar both here and, at the same date, at Lincoln[3] and Salisbury,[4] belongs to a

[1] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott (*Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, London, 1872, p. 161) mentions a later occasion of this kind: "A large contemporary print of the Coronation of William and Mary at Westminster, in 1689, shows 28 tapers burning on the Altar and eight upon the retable."

[2] *Archæologia*, London, 1880, vol. xlv. p. 165.

[3] *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Cambridge, 1891, part i. pp. 288–290.

[4] *Reg. S. Osmundi*, Rolls Series, London, 1883, vol. i. p. 8.

time of which we have no record clear enough to enable us to reproduce it with accuracy, were we in any way bound to do so.

What we learn of the general broad resemblance in the customs of one church to another, at the different periods of the advancing architecture, makes it rather more than probable that the particular arrangements of the altar that obtained in the early thirteenth century gave place to those of the more developed medieval period, which are the authorized ornaments of 1549.

In the inventory of 1536, at Salisbury, the following candlesticks are mentioned: "*Item.* Eight great and fair candlesticks of gold, they stand on bases pierced through like windows, and curiously ornate with divers workings and chasings in each of them, weighing 642 ounces.—*Item.* Two candlesticks, silver gilt, with this scripture, *Orate Sancti pro anima Ricardi Poure, quondam Episcopi Sarum.*—*Item.* Four smaller Candlesticks, with curious jewels and precious stones, the gift of Richard Durnford, with Armes on the Bases. —*Item.* One candlestick, silver, two knops and four stones wanting."[1] The first item obviously recalls the "octo cereos . . . circa altare," ordered in the *Registrum S. Osmundi;* and the third, the "quatuor cereos . . . scilicet duos insuper altare, et alios duos in gradu coram altari."[2] But this is mere supposition,

[1] William Dodsworth, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Salisbury, 1814, p. 230. And *Antiquitates Sarisburienses*, Salisbury, 1771, pp. 193, 194.

[2] *Reg. S. Osmundi*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 8.

and it is not likely that attempts to interpret these directions in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*, or to locate these candlesticks, can ever be anything else.

But there is no doubt about the practice at Durham immediately before the dissolution. We read: "there was pertaining to the High Altar . . . two silver double-gilded Candlesticks for two tapers, very finely wrought, of three quarters high, to be taken in sunder with wrests, other two silver candlesticks for every day service, parcell gilt. . . ."[1] This shows that not only were there never more than two candles even upon the high altar at Durham; but that the fact of an altar having possessed four candlesticks, or more, does not prove that they were all set upon it at one time. The cathedral church of St. Swithin, at Winchester, also, as we learn from the inventory given in to Henry VIII., had "one pair of candlesticks of gold."[2]

And to turn from cathedral and monastical churches so magnificent as these to a parish church of such importance as that of St. Margaret, at Westminster, we find in the "Inventory made and renewed the viijth day of May, in the ijnd year of . . . Edward the vjth.," "Item, 2 Candlesticks of silver, parcel gilt, weighing xlv. oz.," and "✠ Item, a candlestick for the High Altar, of copper and gilt."[3] The latter, the

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 8.

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1817, vol. i. p. 202. "Pair," however, may possibly here mean a set, as in "a pair of organs"; "a pair of stairs."

[3] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *The History of the Parish Church of Saint Margaret, in Westminster, etc.* Westminster, 1847, pp. 68, 69.

Durham instance would hint, may have been "for every day service."

Further on, there is mention of "iiij great Standers, and iiij great Candlesticks of latten."[1] The positions of these are not given; but it is possible the candlesticks may have belonged to the standers, and were set one at each corner of the altar. Or like the two pairs of "long latten Candlesticks" at St. Christopher le Stocks, they may not all have been "to set before the high altar": one set may have been "to serve for Obits."[2] At Wigtoft, Lincolnshire, in 1484, there is mention of as many as "4 candlesticks afore the high altar."[3] And at Long Melford, in the inventory of 1529, under *lattyn:* "Two Great Candlesticks. Two Second Candlesticks, lately bought, which are called Secondans. Two small candlesticks to the High Altar" (there were besides "Two Silver Candlesticks, parcel gilt, the gift of old John Smith, 61 oz."); also "a candlestick with ten branches, standing before the High Altar."[4] The last instance certainly shows that, although the altar lights were limited to two, those round about the altar were sometimes numerous.

These lights, moreover, were not always merely

[1] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *The History of the Parish Church of Saint Margaret, in Westminster, etc.* Westminster, 1847, p. 72.

[2] See p. 74 above.

[3] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.* London, 1797, p. 79.

[4] John Preston Neale, *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, &c.*, London, 1825, vol. ii. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk, pp. 15 and 18.

ceremonial; sometimes they were for the practical purpose of giving light. "At the east end of Saint Cuthbert's Feretory," at Durham, "there was wrought upon the height of the irons, towards the Nine Altars, very fine Candlesticks of iron, like unto sockets, which had light set in them before day, that every monk might have the more light to see to read upon their books at the said nine altars when they said Mass, and also to give light to all others that came thither to hear and see the divine service."[1] This is related as if it were a matter of course, then as now, that the worshippers should wish to see (and not only to see, but also to hear) the divine service.[2]

Lights also were sometimes used from the mere delight (so strong that it seems irresistible to the modern mind) of seeing them twinkling amongst evergreens and flowers. In the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1506, we find, "It., payed for sysis [*small wax tapers*] to the holly bush at Christmas, ix. d."[3] That the Englishman who found satisfaction to his sense of what befitted God's altar in one or two tapers burning upon it, should yet not be ignorant of the beauty of small white tapers amongst the red berries and green leaves of a holly bush is most instructive. For it shows it was from no want of imagination that the reredos or upper frontal above the altar was not

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 5.
[2] See note 1 on p. 68 above.
[3] C. Kerry, *Hist. St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading, 1883.

at that time blocked up or set aside by a formless display of candles and flowers (in itself innocent enough, but here out of place), as now obtains.

If, then, the men of that time would not yield to us in their love of flowers and the lights that through the agency of the bees may be said to be drawn from them, and yet knew nothing of our modern practice, surely it was because they grasped a truer idea than we of the character, unique in its holiness and awfulness, of that which is at once the altar of sacrifice and the table of the Lord. Have we, we are forced to ask, nothing better with which to surround the presence of the Eucharist than the glitter of lights and flowers that surround a fairy in the modern pantomime? And if it is objected that this is what attracts the poor, the answer surely is that, in the gift of Christian architecture, there lies a responsibility and trust that cannot be evaded, and can only be fulfilled by educating the poor to appreciate something better than what they might have learnt to like outside of its influence.

IV.—Flowers.

Unlike the tapers that they are associated with, flower-vases were absolutely unknown on the altar, although it is just possible that single blossoms were laid upon it.[1] It was not a case of the number of flower-

[1] See Illustrated Catalogue of *La Collection Spitzer*, Paris, 1893, Planche ix. fig. 404. "Tapisseries de Bruxelles, 1518, par François de

pots being limited; for, neither on the altars, nor anywhere else, were flowers put into water, although in other ways they were made use of for the sake of their perfume and beauty.

For this conclusion there is every evidence, while as yet nothing has been discovered in the way of exceptions; and it would seem that this fundamental difference in the old use of flowers in churches from that of to-day is only to be explained by there having been an instinct of sympathy, deeper than ours, with nature, whose lavishness, as well as beauty, is most shown in the flower which her Creator says "to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven."[1] Certainly it was in literal illustration of this saying that the flowers were used; for what does the expression "to-morrow is cast into the oven" suggest in this connexion but that fragrant process of drying, which the natural

Taxis. Déplacement de la Vierge Miraculeuse de notre dame de Sablon." Showing a few single flowers laid on the towel lying on the altar; two pairs of candlesticks, of different design, whose tapers rise above the riddels, one at each corner on the altar; also a reliquary. An image of the Annunciation, in the low reredos; and riddels between it and the front pillars, on which stand cherubs bearing tapers. The details are all strongly touched with Renaissance feeling. There is a miniature of the Annunciation in a late French *Hore B. Marie Virg.* at the British Museum (Add. MS. No. 18,192, fol. 19) which is in danger of being quoted as an example of a flower-pot on the altar; but it is no more than the pot of lilies invariably found in this subject, and here placed, by a freak of the painter, on the north end of an altar, immediately behind the kneeling figure of our Lady, over whom a blue cloth, which rises above the reredos, is made to project. This miniature supplies a further proof that it was from no want of imagination that flower-vases were not made use of for the decoration of the altar.

[1] St. Matt. vi. 30.

fading of plucked flowers not put into water is, in contrast to the unwholesome gradual decay attending them while only apparently water keeps them alive?[1]

We, indeed strangely blind to the satire latent in it, take our flowers, often the most costly we can procure, I admit, and having wired and gummed them that they may not drop (or, if they be white lilies, mutilated them by cutting out their anthers because God has not made them entirely white), we place them as an imperfect offering on his altar of sacrifice, and leave them to linger in this process of decay on the Lord's table until long after a lady would tolerate them on her own table. The truth is that no one looks so closely into the flowers on the altar as to detect that they are faded, or that they are only a front of flowers stuck into unsightly tin backs; and it is only when the water is emptied away that its intolerable stench is perceived.

This is to put the case at its very worst; but at its best, it is equally a violation of the old principle.[2] The

[1] We truly say of flowers that they *last* in water; but they do not retain their freshness. We should not give a friend flowers that had been even one day in water; but only those newly picked from our gardens.

[2] This principle is no more than a recognition that the characteristic of a flower is a beauty and perfume that does not last; but passes away (if naturally) without corruption. Again, plants growing in pots are out of place in a church; if only for the simple reason that they must gradually pine away, from the moment they are placed there, for lack of sun and moistened air. If to this it be objected that they can be taken away to recover, I find a counter-objection in the fact that the lamb of sacrifice was not left at the altar till it was nearly starved and then brought out again to the pasture: it was killed at one stroke. So the flower should be

most beautiful and freshest arrangement of flowers, kept alive in water, violates this principle more than do the "artificial flowers" we despise, and are right in despising; though not always, it is to be feared, on reasonable grounds.

Flowers made of wax, although not of their present realistic form, nor set upon the altar, are to be met with in medieval days. We read, for instance, that at Reading in 1508 there was "payed to the same masters for j li. green flowers to the forsaid pascal vjd."[1] It is their position and ugliness that is the fault with modern "artificial flowers": and yet even as regards their position on the altar they are, in a sense, a development (sufficiently vulgar, and no doubt unconscious) of the beautiful flowers painted on the medieval reredos.

The most common use of flowers of that time, and, in particular, of sweet-smelling herbs, was to scatter or lay them on the pavement. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1544, there was "pd. for rushes against the Dedicacion-Day, which is always the 1st Sunday in October, 1s. 5d."; and about a century later (1650) "paid for herbs that were strewed in the Church upon a day of thanksgiving, 2s. 6d."[2] Still later, viz. in 1772, at Hayfield, in Derbyshire, there is an entry "for

plucked and left; and the atmosphere drying it is the fire that causes its sweet smell to ascend.

[1] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading, 1883, p. 51.

[2] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *History of the Parish Church of St. Margaret, Westminster*, Westminster, 1847, pp. 58 and 66.

rushes for church, 2s. 6d." ;[1] and in a work published in 1822, Rhodes, at the conclusion of his description of the old Derbyshire custom of "rush-bearing," relates that "the rushes and flowers are then taken into the church, and strewed amongst the pews and along the floors, and the garlands are hung up near the entrance into the chancel in remembrance of the day."[2] Dr. Cox, after quoting other instances of strewing rushes, mentions that "the custom still obtains in a few villages of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Westmoreland, notably at Grasmere, in the Lake District."[3] Again, on the particular occasions of bridal processions, the strewing of flowers in churches may be seen almost anywhere in England ; while abroad it may frequently be met with, especially on such feast days as Corpus Christi and the Assumption of St. Mary.

Garlands also were worn in procession both by clerks in holy orders and by laymen, on the head or round the neck.[4] Englishmen of old thought no more scorn of this than did the classical Greeks.

The following entries speak of the different flowers used as the seasons went round :—

[1] J. Charles Cox, *Notes on Churches of Derbyshire*, Chesterfield, 1877, vol. ii. p. 216.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 203, and Rhodes' *Peak Scenery*, part iii. p. 38.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 204.

[4] See, *e.g.*, a representation of a miniature of the Hours of Juvenal des Ursins, showing a procession of the Holy Sacrament. Paul Lecroix, *Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age*, Deuxième Edition, Paris, 1873, p. 255, fig. 195. Mr. T. Garner tells me that he remembers some thirty years ago seeing, at Coblentz, a priest celebrate his first mass with a crown of flowers on his head.

Besides the holly bush with tapers for Christmas (1506) at St. Lawrence, Reading, there was paid "for an holly bush before the Rood ijd."[1] At St. Martin's, Outwich, in London, in 1524 and in 1525, in the churchwardens' accounts, is the item, "paid for holly and ivy at Christmas, ijd." And in 1510, "paid for palm, boxflowers, and cakes, iiijd." In 1525, "paid for palm on Palm Sunday, ijd. ob. Paid for cakes, flowers, and yew, ijd."[2]

The "palm" was the willow flower, so called because of its use on this day. When the blessing of flowers at the altar on Palm Sunday was first revived, the willow flower and box were rightly the flowers most used; and it is more than a pity that for fresh and scented flowers like these, dead southern palm leaves should be substituted. It is only the outcome of the shallow realism of to-day. Olives and palms grow in Italy, hence branches of these are named in the Roman mass book. Nevertheless in Ghent, for instance, the Bishop still carries a nosegay of various flowers on Palm Sunday; and in the Salisbury mass book neither palms nor olives are specified in the rubrics, but the ceremony is called *benedictio florum et frondium* merely.

In 1525, "Paid for broom against Easter jd.," and "paid for rose garlands on Corpus Christi day vjd."

[1] C. Kerry, *History of St. Lawrence, Reading*, p. 52.

[2] See Roger Martin's description of the Palm Sunday Procession at Long Melford. John Preston Neale, *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, &c.*, London, 1825, vol. ii. *The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk*, p. 13.

In 1524, "Item, for birch at Midsummer ijd."; and in 1525, "Paid for birch and broom at Midsummer iijd."

In 1524, "Item, for rose garlands, bread, wine, and ale, on ij Saint Martin's days, xvd. ob."; and in 1525, "Paid for bread, ale, and wine, and garlands, on Saint Martin's day, the translation, xvjd." [1]

If a return to the old Christian use of flowers in religious worship without water (a use indeed common, it might almost be said, to all religions) after an interval of some thirty or forty years be objected to as unpractical, or too troublesome, let us remind ourselves that we spare no pains in overloading our houses with flowers (and that not only for occasions) which have to be attended to daily; and that we do not grudge wreaths to heap the coffins of our friends, although these must perish at once. We cannot, then, plead that the custom of offering flowers to God and at the shrines of his saints, in the old way, would cost us more time and labour (or money) than is reasonable to spend at the chief festivals even in these days. Where the Christian faith still controls some old town, in Brittany for instance, a long morning is spent in decking its gates with flowers for a procession. There is only just time to hang up the garlands and lay down the carpets of flowers beforehand, and the procession has barely returned to the church before they are already cleared

[1] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.*, London, 1797, pp. 270, 272, 273.

away. Again, we may see nosegays sold outside the church door, to be laid at the base of an altar or image to breathe out their fragrance for the day. Why not teach our village children to bring nosegays from their gardens, or the violets and roses from the highways and hedges, and offer them thus to God themselves?[1] Such offerings will satisfy our own sense of beauty more, and can certainly not be less precious in their Creator's sight than the costly foreign flowers we artificially produce in our hothouses. Once we grasp the old principle we shall find many ways of carrying it out practically; and at least can we not let it be said of any flower in our churches:

> "That if 't be faded 'tis with prayer's sole breath—
> That the one day it boasted was God's day"?[2]

V.—The Reredos.

Before flowers and candles (at a later date than 1549, and upon the Continent) came to be known as its special adornment, the altar had an ornament set above it that was peculiar to it, and marked it off from anything else in the church. This ornament was known by various names. If of metal, timber, or stone, we are

[1] An instance of securing children's services in another way is told in *The Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 15. "The entrance to this porch or anchorage was up a pair of fair stairs adjoining to the north door of St. Cuthbert's Feretory, under the which stairs the Pascal did lie. And in the time of Lent the children of the Aumerie were enjoined to come thither daily to dress, trim, and make it bright against the Pascal feast."

[2] Robert Browning, *Colombe's Birthday*, Act II., line 173.

accustomed now to speak of it as the reredos; if of needlework, as the upper frontal. It may be defined as an ornament set immediately above the altar, whose dimensions, as the latter name implies, are roughly those of the front of the altar beneath it.

In cathedral, abbey, and collegiate churches (none of which, be it remembered, have the open chancel screen of parish churches) this reredos is often inserted in a high and, usually, closed screen, more or less cutting off the view of the building eastwards of the high altar.

But in the parish church the reredos of the high altar was always beneath the low sill of the east window. Between this sill and the altar (which seems more generally to have stood against the east wall) the whole space was frequently occupied by small tabernacles for images whose bases, or the traceried panels beneath and flush with them, reached to the slab of the altar itself.

One instance of this kind of stone reredos, of the fourteenth century, is to be seen at Geddington in Northamptonshire. It has 13 panels,[1] the middle one considerably wider than the rest. The whole length is 12 feet 1½ inches, pointing to an altar nearly as long. A later example of a work of especial beauty remains above the Lady altar at Christ Church, Hampshire, a monastical church of considerable size. In this, the

[1] These panels are recessed three inches from the face of the reredos, the square soffit being one and a half inches deep. The images, therefore, may either have been in relief, or they may have been merely flat paintings.

tradition of the reredos proper is somewhat lost, as it also is in the high altar screen of the same church, and of New College, Oxford. Indeed, as it contains the width of the east wall, and in height also exceeds the usual dimensions of a reredos, this example should no doubt be described as an altar screen; but one that is immediately beneath the east window. And since the height of the window sill was, apparently, of choice, and not of necessity, it may be taken as illustrating a difference in treatment of the adornment of the altar, consequent on its not being seen through an open screen; for it is cut off completely from view by the solid screen of the high altar that stands westward of it.

The altar slab of Purbeck marble is still in existence. It has been replaced at some time at a little lower level, as the section of it marked on the wall attests. This example, therefore, has a further value, showing, as it does beyond question, that, even where there was no necessary limitation to the height of the reredos, it adjoined to the slab of the altar, and there was no gradine.[1]

Another example of a stone reredos, one, viz., of "perpendicular" date and belonging to the Lady altar of a parish church, may be found at Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire. Here, as in the Lady Chapel at Ely, the middle panel of the window above the altar is left unpierced, and in front of it stood, no doubt, an image of our Lady and the Divine Child. The middle panels of this

[1] Mr. St. John Hope tells me of two similar cases at Canterbury, viz. in the crypt, and in St. Michael's chapel above.

reredos, upon which the image stood, are stepped up above the side panels, in the manner most usual in Flemish reredoses. Its form, therefore, and low proportions (there being only 1 foot 5 inches from the altar to the glass of the window) suggest, at first sight, one of the better kind of modern gradines. But there is nothing to prove that this reredos was used as a gradine. On the contrary, the care taken to omit the glass behind the image is a strong suggestion that where the panels of the window are pierced, nothing stood in front of their glass.

No example in the medieval period of anything like what we know as a gradine has yet been produced, if this ornament may be defined as a shelf to carry the one or two candles, obligatory when not held by the clerk ; or as a shelf in front of a reredos or upper frontal for any ornaments. The low shelf in the crypt at Grantham, figured in a paper by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite,[1] on *The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric*, and appealed to against the conclusion of the earlier paper by Dr. Wickham Legg,[2] does not answer to this definition of a gradine ; nor does such a plain slab of stone afford in itself any proof of its date. To establish the likeness of the modern gradine, either in its use or in its appearance, to what is described in inventories as the "form" or "desk for the altar," "halpas," "false altar," etc., a contemporary picture, or, at the least, a

[1] *Trans. of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. ii. pp. 313, 314.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 120.

most minute description, is absolutely necessary in the face of the great mass of evidence against it, both in pictures and in existing remains of altars, reredoses, and screens, which cannot be gainsaid.

Certainly there has not been found even one exception that will give countenance to our modern practice of placing a gradine in front of a reredos; but rather this practice contradicts the first principles of common sense, which forbids that one ornament should be systematically and habitually blocked up by another. Two candles, or even a detached crucifix, so long as it rises above the reredos, and if it is a reredos without any painted or carved image in the middle, cannot be said to block it up.[1] They stood, moreover, on the altar itself. For one or two ornaments, or, with the crucifix, three at the most, there was no need of a shelf. The labour of setting these on the altar before service, and removing them afterwards was not great: for, though sometimes of precious metal and great costliness, they were of necessity never large or heavy; and to make them large destroys the scale of the church. No doubt the preparing of the altar towels before service, and the covering or removing of them afterwards, made it necessary to remove these other one, two, or three ornaments that stood upon them; and it would have been troublesome as well as meaningless to have put them back between the services. They were there as a part of the

[1] See, *e.g.*, British Museum, Cott. MSS. Domit. No. 17, fol. 148. See also note 1 on p. 98 below.

ceremonial, rather than as forming the decoration of the altar.

Any objection to the revival of this practice, therefore, on the plea of its being troublesome, would be as unreasonable as it would be unworthy; and, like most other customs of the kind, we have not to go back even three hundred years to find it, but it has survived until our own time.[1]

In a Flemish miniature of a church during the time of Lent, in which a priest is shown in his shriving pew, the altar has two empty pricket candlesticks upon it;[2]

[1] See Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, London, 1872, p. 162. "As a trace of old usuage" candles "are placed on the altar only at the time of celebration at Salisbury, Ely, Lichfield, Exeter, St. Patrick's, and Christ Church, Dublin. At the beginning of this century they were regularly lighted on Sunday mornings at Durham, as if in anticipation of a celebration." Interesting in this double connexion of the survival of ancient customs, and their subsequent loss through the unmeasured desire to avoid trouble, is the following sentence on p. 160 of the same book: Warburton at Durham, prebendary till 1779, "gave up the cope because it discomposed his wig (*Quarterly Review*, xxxii. 273). Dr. Green gave up incense, because it spoiled his smell of snuff." I quote in full the authority for the latter statement; it is taken from the note-book of William Cole, the well-known antiquary, whose collections are now in the British Museum, Add. MS. No. 5873, fol. 82, verso: *Incense in Churches.* "I have often heard Mr. Soane Jenyns, who lived at Ely when he was young, say, as also Messrs. Bentham, and others, say, that it was the constant Practice on the greater Festivals at Ely, to burn Incense at the Altar in the Cathedral, till Dr. Thos. Green, one of the Prebendaries, and now Dean of Salisbury, 1779, a finical Man, tho' a very worthy one, and who is always taking Snuff up his Nose, objected to it, under Pretence, that it made his Head to ach. Mr. Dodwell has wrote an ingenious Tract on the Subject, and against its primitive Institution."

[2] British Museum, Add. MSS. 25,698 fo. 9, given in Dr. Fr. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, &c.* Bonn, 1871, Dritter Band; Taf. xiv. fig. 1.

evidently pointing to its having sometimes been the custom to remove only the tapers themselves, out of service time, leaving the candlesticks.

A contrast to the old custom may be found now in some churches, where at a sung service six large candles are set on a gradine on the altar, and only two of the six are lighted. With the six candles and invariable altar cross, a shelf admittedly becomes desirable for convenience, and the reredos begins to be obscured and confused ; and when these were added on the Continent the medieval reredos had ceased to be.

The halpas, however, in marked distinction from the modern gradine, is no contradiction of this principle, that one ornament should not be blocked up by another, if Dr. Wickham Legg's explanation of this and equivalent terms in the inventories is correct ; and clearly it is borne out by pictures. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this.[1] The first is the well-known figure of the altar at Arras. The original picture is described by Lacroix as being of the sixteenth century, and preserved in the vestry of that church. It shows the ordinary low reredos, or, as it might very well be called, high shelf (Lacroix calls it *retable*), covered, apparently, by an upper frontal powdered with *fleur-de-lys ;* and on it stand a row of various reliquaries or jewels. The second is from a French painting of the fifteenth century, and shows a reredos of the same character, but bearing on its

[1] See Paul Lacroix, *Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1873, p. 261, fig. 200, and p. 425, fig. 297.

front the rood, Mary and John. It stands sufficiently forward on the altar to allow space for a large reliquary behind it; and on the centre of the shelf, formed by the top of this reredos, is set a large isolated image. In both examples the altar stands quite clear of any window or screen. Surely such pictures as these interpret the halpas, etc., of our inventories: certainly no other explanation of these terms has been given that is consistent with what we definitely know of medieval English custom. One chance entry occurring in the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, of 1518, viz. "It. paid for washing and dressing of the Halpas with the XII Apostles, xiijs. iiijd.,"[1] seems to show that if the halpas was not the same thing as the reredos, it was like a reredos deprived of its tabernacles and back.[2]

As a practical conclusion, I would urge that the reredoses that survive in England, and those only of like character that exist abroad, or are shown in pictures, should be our models; and that, except for reliquaries, or isolated images and jewels (what we should call the church plate), there is no occasion to use such a reredos as a shelf, or, in other words, no occasion for a halpas.

The existing large foreign altar-screens of timber, which usually surmount and overspread the reredos proper, however familiar with adaptations of them we have lately become, are of quite a different type, and do not lend themselves to the typical arrangement of the

[1] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading, 1883, p. 27.

[2] See as an illustration of this, British Museum, Tib. A. vii. fol. 68.

east window and open chancel screen of an English parish church. If our means are unlimited let us not follow these, but make a reredos of precious metal. We read of the "j table" (seized by Henry VIII. from Fountains) "for the high altar of principal days with iij images of silver and gilt, with beads and plate of silver and gilt and some part gold and set with stones, in valor, jc li."[1] And again, at Winchester, of "a table of images of silver, and gilt, garnished with stones." This reredos occupied the space since filled by a flat painting; and the entry that follows names the "great cross" in the screen above it, "and an image of plate of gold garnished with stones."[2]

But if, on the contrary, our means are very limited indeed, let us keep to the simplest thing conceivable, viz. the low upper frontal of loom or needlework, so often shown in the miniatures and mentioned in inventories.[3] The modern "high dorsal," which always leaves an uncomfortable blank expanse of cloth above the gradines and candles (however high and numerous these are), seems to have been taken from the canopies

[1] *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, Surtees Society, Durham, 1863, vol. xlii. p. 291.

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1817, vol. i. p. 202.

[3] Such an upper frontal, of fifteenth century date, is still to be seen at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire. It is of white damask silk, 12 feet 3¾ inches long, and 3 feet 10 inches deep, embroidered with four rows of gold flowers and, in the centre, an image of St. Mary's Assumption. There is also a nether frontal 10 feet 8½ inches long, and 2 feet 4¼ inches deep, with a frontlet 8 inches wide; all of the same suit. The frontal has three rows of gold flowers and an image of the Annunciation in the centre. The frontlet has eleven similar flowers. This is "so far as is known, the only ancient complete set now existing in England." See *the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. xi. 408.

found on a smaller scale over thrones in medieval pictures, or over bishops' thrones in actual use in Italy to-day.

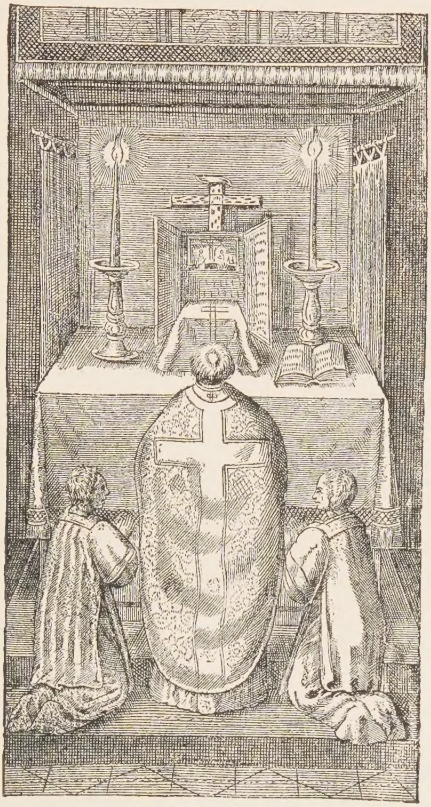


FIG. 2.—THE APPROACH TO THE ALTAR.
(From *A Manual of Prayers and Letanies*, printed at Rouen, 1665.)

For this purpose only they are really suitable and dignified. The accompanying woodcut, and another

on page 106, show what, although Renaissance in date, might be described as our modern arrangement in a reasonable form, viz. an upper frontal surmounted by a square tester, which really does project over the altar, and is of sufficient, but only sufficient, height to escape the flame of the two candles.

In connexion with the reredos, it might be well to speak of the altar cross or crucifix; since far more generally in pictures of the medieval period it is found, attended by Mary and John, as the central or only subject of the reredos, and not as a separate ornament. Next, perhaps, in frequency to the rood, in this position, is the image of St. Mary with her Divine Child. And whatever the central subject be, a cross is not found in front of it.[1] Yet, unreasonable in the extreme as it is, we often see this now; sometimes even a small crucifix is set in front of a larger one, albeit the placing of a larger crucifix at some height above a smaller one is objected to on the ground of repetition. The latter practice, however, we find was an old one;[2] and has

[1] The MS. referred to in the note on p. 82, above, might be quoted against this conclusion also. Yet the large cross without a figure, which stands on the altar, in the miniature on fol. 196, rises, as in other cases, well above the reredos, and the stem of the cross hides all but what appears to be the arms of a small rood in the centre of the reredos itself. It is an interesting picture, because it shows a priest houseling a woman, who kneels on the widely projecting altar piece, while epistoler and gospeller (in blue tunicles that match the chasuble) hold the houseling cloth, and a clerk kneels at the side with a torch, the only light.

[2] *E.g.* at Westminster. See the Islip roll, in *Vetusta monumenta*, published by the Society of Antiquaries from the original in their possession. Also in *Alcuin Club Collections*, I. plate xiii.

nothing against it, for the reason that both images in such a case are not looked at together; there is no confusion of the one with the other as in the former practice.

But not only has the repetition of the rood been objected to, or its presence anywhere eastwards of the chancel screen, but the fitness of any representation of the crucifixion treated really (that is, so as to be an image of our Lord's passion and death), has been seriously and forcibly questioned. Dr. B. F. Westcott, now Bishop of Durham, contrasts the Sigmaringen Crucifix with Velasquez;[1] and the Rev. F. E. Brightman pursues the same argument in immediate connexion with the altar;[2] and did our choice only lie between the schools represented by the Sigmaringen Crucifix and Velasquez, there might be no question of our rejecting the latter. But there is a middle period, viz. the period of the fullest and most refined development of Christian architecture, and that in our own and kindred northern lands; the period and the countries so unfortunately least known to us of any. It would seem to be almost forgotten that, when Christianity finally accepted the principle of images, architecture was not capable of representing the crucifix really, but depended on the old Greek conception of the godhead, under the crowned beauty and strength

[1] *The Epistles of St. John*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 372, 373.

[2] See a paper on *The Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 1890, p. 9, *et seqq.* and *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iii. p. 105.

of youth. The expression of divinity without the aid of a royal crown or youthful strength, which a painter like Roger Van der Weyden knew how to bring out under the worn and suffering form in the crucifix, or Quentin Matsys in the dead Christ in the arms of our Lady of Pity,[1] tells of something higher than architecture had ever achieved before. Only upon its final conquest of that Greek spirit, to which the cross was "foolishness," did architecture dare to look realities in the face; while, as truly as ever it had done before, it rejected the superficial and sensational realism that appeared with the renaissance of pagan feeling.

Christian architecture was real, but it was not realistic; that is to say, it never attempted to represent any historical scene, as it would have appeared to its original spectators; this would have decreased the force of the lesson intended.[2] It sought an even deeper reality than to represent the historical surroundings of a scene, viz. to bring the scene home as a living present truth to those who looked on its image. And this is seen in images of all persons or scenes, whether in the gospels or elsewhere. Thus the landscapes are from the country in which the painter lived; the buildings, those he saw or designed himself; the faces are simply

[1] Both pictures in the Antwerp Gallery.

[2] It is also worthy of note that we find no representation of the parables in the fully developed Christian architecture. The parables are themselves the image. The Shepherd Youth of the early Church is only a Greek image, adopted like that of Orpheus, into which a Christian significance was read.

portraits of the people he knew; and the dresses are those then worn. If we object that what was real then is not real now, we have only to look within some old-fashioned English home, or within the cloisters of our communities of religious women, or of our clergy-houses, to see the same types of faces. We have only to look out of the windows of the railway carriage as we travel up and down England, to see the same green meadows and trees, and still water; the same grey strength of church towers holding broad shadows broken by upright lines of sunlight on buttress-edge and pinnacle; the blue of the distance; the low lines of white thorns; the perfect circle of a red-tipped daisy, such as we meet with in the old pictures or on the pages of a book of hours.

And as to our own houses and dresses, if we feel, as we instinctively must, that they are not at home with the highest human or inanimate nature, nor with the subjects we have to represent, the fault lies with the former; and moreover, it is in our power, gradually and with patience, to mend them, having such examples before us.

VI.—The Riddels.

At the sides of the upper frontal or reredos, and generally on a level with it, were curtains called riddels, or costers, that hung either from the rods, between the four pillars carrying angels at the four corners of the altar, or on rods projecting from it without front support.

Even when the reredos was a "table with ij leaves to open and close again,"[1] these curtains are still to be found, although pushed back by the leaves when they stood open.[2] They hung on looped cords attached to rings, so that they were easily drawn aside.

VII.—The Nether Frontal and the Frontlet.

It is characteristic of the nether or lower frontals shown in even the most elaborate of the Flemish pictures that they are of tapestry or silk, and apparently without embroidery. Sometimes the strongly marked creases are to be seen where the frontal has been folded lengthwise in the middle and again into three.

The effect of this is good, and the convenience of it obvious. But it must not be forgotten that, while Flanders was the great country of weavers, embroidery on both the vestments of the altar and of the ministers was most characteristic of England: and it was most splendid in its workmanship, as is proved not only by inventories but by remaining examples of the work itself.[3] But whether the altar's and ministers' vestments were made of figured materials from the loom without embroidery, or were of velvet or damask silk embroidered, their general effect of sober richness or simplicity, as the case might be, was the same; whether

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 28.

[2] See the picture, referred to above, of a pope holding the monstrance, p. 73.

[3] See, *e.g.* the vestments preserved at St. John's College, Oxford.

richly or plainly treated, their treatment was the same all over. Frequently one colour was paled with another, and both powdered with figures and flowers.[1]

But there is very little exact appreciation of embroidery now. Ladies have put it aside with the habits of life necessary for its perfection: and even when religious communities have taken it up again, they are fettered by the public demand which requires something very prominent and aggressive to the eye; something very quickly done and very cheap, such as an isolated centre piece for a nether frontal, or a few inches of conspicuous embroidery at the ends of a stole.

This has produced a reaction against embroidery in favour of equally cheap tapestry materials, which, for the most part, bear about the same relation to the work of the old looms as does the modern embroidery to the old needlework.

It surely is not unreasonable to ask that a little more money should be spent over the covering of the altar itself, and that where means are limited, one or two frontals, of really good materials, should be had before thinking of following an elaborate sequence of colours for the seasons.

But worse than ugly or even cheap cloths is the custom of decorating the fabric of the altar, and doing away altogether with moveable frontals. I have not met with any authority for this apart from the celebration of

[1] See, *e.g.* a frontal still preserved at the Church of St. Mary, Alveley, Shropshire.

mass for the dead; nor is the custom to be found in conservative places on the Continent. The numerous altars, all with their frontals of various colours, are conspicuous in an Italian church.

But the nether frontal is no more necessarily of loom or needlework than the upper frontal or reredos. Genoa, for instance, has still its moveable silver frontal of figures in high relief for Corpus Christi Day; and amongst Henry the Eighth's plunder at Winchester, in addition to the table or reredos already mentioned, there was "the nether part of the high altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones."[1] Practically the need of decorating the front of the altar with moveable frontals only is at once apparent on the last days of Holy Week, when the altar is bared. But also there is a sense of fitness in the altar being a plain fabric of stone or of timber;[2] and there is surely a thought of reverence in veiling it. Similar, perhaps, is the once invariable custom of covering the coffin with a pall, the abandonment of which for a more or less partial covering of flowers is admittedly unseemly.

Moulded plinths to the altar are, however, not uncommonly to be met with in miniatures; they are

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1817. Vol. i. p. 202.

[2] Stone altars were certainly not invariable previous to 1549. See T. E. Simmons, *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, London, 1879, pp. 165, 166. On the other hand, the very much more common tradition of stone or marble altars has never been lost, not even in the early part of this century. See J. T. Micklethwaite, *The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric*. (*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. ii. Note 3 on p. 313.)

shown in the miniatures of the MS. known as Henry VI.'s book of hours, where each altar, in addition to the narrow frontlet, has a frontal which stops short just above the plinth.[1] In a miniature of another MS., at a mass for the dead, both the plain ashlar of the altar and a moulded plinth are shown; evidently because of the occasion, the altar towels and frontlet are its only covering.[2]

The frontlet may be defined as the apparel of the second of the three linens, or towels, that usually cover the altar slab. At Winchester "the front above" the metal nether frontal, and below the metal reredos, *i.e.* the frontlet, was "of broidering work and pearls."[3] But occasionally there is no frontlet, and the fair linen hangs down in its place. More generally in late medieval pictures the fair linen lies straight along the front edge of the altar without the least overlapping: and there is never any edging of lace.

It is worth notice that in the old Italian linen frontals the lace is of the solid character of, for instance, the Hesset pix cloth, and they are edged, like it, with coloured fringes; and both frontlet and frontal are treated alike. Lace of later date is as unsuitable for the altar as it is for albs, surplices, etc. But again we have added an incongruity to a bad foreign custom, by mixing this lace, as trumpery and effeminate in its

[1] British Museum, Domit. MSS. No. 17.
[2] *Ibid.* Add. MSS. No. 18,192, fol. 110.
[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1817. Vol. i. p. 202.

general effect, whether it be costly or cheap, with frontals and other vestments of medieval pattern.

Weights of lead were placed on the altar to keep the

FIG. 3.—Initial letter of the Office for Corpus Christi, in *Missale Parisiense*, 1489.

cloths in their place. This is the simplest of all methods of fixing them, and avoids the necessity of drilling the altar for hooks, etc., or of stretching the frontals on wooden frames. But it must be remembered that the

hair, which was often used,[1] was of coarse texture, which prevented the whole slipping. Several instances of these lead weights occur in the inventories of the chantries at York Minster. Chantry of St. James and St. Katherine, 1483—"j candelabrum de auricalco ; j pillowe de serico ; ymago B.M.V.; quinque peciæ plumbi pro altari" ; and in 1543, "iij leade plumbys upon the alter." Chantry of St. Anne, St. Anthony, and St. Crux, 1520—"ij candelabra super altare; iiij plumbi super altare." Chantry of St. Edward, 1543—"inventa super altare, j covering with iiij pieces of lead lying of the altar."[2]

The book cushion or pillow, of which an instance is given in the first of these entries, seems, as far as the witness of medieval pictures goes, to have been small and square.[3] Sometimes they are mentioned in pairs,[4] but more usually, like the desk, there was only one (*i.e.*, for use at one time) to each altar.[5] The cut on the opposite page illustrates the use of a single pillow.

[1] Mr. Cuthbert Atchley has shown how common the hair was, and how rare the cere cloth. (*Trans. of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv. p. 152.)

[2] *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society, Durham, 1859, pp. 278, 283, and 287.

[3] See, *e.g.*, British Museum, Domit. MS. No. 17, fol. 175.

[4] See, *e.g.*, J. Ch. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints, Derby*, p. 159 ; "ij pillows of cloth of gold for the high altar" (1465-1527).

[5] *E.g.*, "a cushion the one side cloth of gold and the other side crane color satin of the gift of Mr. Smyth." (1517.) C. Kerry, *Hist. St. Lawrence, Reading*, p. 107.

VIII.—Colours.

With regard to liturgical colours, apart from all theories of rules, it is only necessary to refer to Mr. St. John Hope's exhaustive paper [1] to find out what colours were actually used at different dates in different places in England, and in connexion with what days.

Surely the result furnishes us with very great liberty in this matter ; though a gentle pressure of precedent, or something even stronger, would guide us to adopt what Mr. St. John Hope has clearly shown to be the almost universal use of white for Lent.

It cannot be pleaded that white is suitable as being the absence of colour : black, physics tell us, is this, and white its fulness. Yet there is a happy, if not intentional, agreement with nature in the marked choice of white for the Lent coverings and vestments. For snow in its unbroken whiteness is the winter veil of nature. When the veil sinks, white only remains in the snowdrop which, in company with the golden aconite and the purple saffron, is the first of many shapes and hues that diaper her summer dress of green. Looked at from this point of view, what could be more suitable in marking the season, than white for the veils of images, the vestments of altars and ministers, and the Lent veil itself? Or, if they were marked with red or blue, they are so described in the

[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 233-272.

inventories as to suggest no softening of the white (in the way the festival white was softened with gold and many various colours till little of it was left), but, rather, adding the emphasis of a sharp contrast to it.

A comparison suggests itself here between the way in which our churches were ornamented with colour in late medieval times, and what obtains now as good taste.

In the reaction from colours not only bright, but colours which had come to be crude and harsh, we have been dosed with shades of red, green and blue, which in their general effect can only be described under Dante's term for nightfall and Acheron and Lethe, *bruna bruna*;[1] and which know nothing of the joyous gladness of his Paradise or even Purgatory, still less of Chaucer's May morning, when he goes from the glass and walls of his chamber painted "with colours fine" out to the "blue, bright, clear" air, down by a green valley full of flowers, "as though the erthe envyè wolde to be gayer than the heven."[2] This general overspreading sombreness has not only been conspicuous in the vestments of the altar and its ministers, which above all else should be brilliant and gorgeous, but we see it sometimes extended over the whole church; furniture, walls, pillars, and roof, all, at the best, one dead harmony of tinted browns. There is need to appeal from this to the colouring of such of our old vestments as have not

[1] *La Divina Comedia*, Purg. XXVIII. 31; also Inf. II. 1. and III. 118.

[2] *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*, lines 320–415.

faded; to the remaining fifteenth century painting of roofs and screens in our churches; to the painted glass, and painted window mullions and tracery in which it is framed; and above all, as bearing these out (but, unlike most of them, in no way touched by time), to the Flemish pictures of the same date, which show vestments and other furniture whose colours, in themselves unequalled for brilliancy and sweetness of tone, are emphasized by contrast with the uncoloured fabrics in which they stand. Sometimes the general fabric of the church was left unpainted; but very often it was painted white, much as we see it done in Flanders to-day, and in some of our own churches which have escaped "restoration." Nothing more brings out the delicacy of the simpler moulded forms in architecture than to paint them a toned white; nothing, on the other hand, can more distract from the due proportions of a building than the strongly marked stone joints and patches of unplastered brick, or rough stone, made such a point of now.

I am indebted to Mr. St. John Hope for the following convincing proofs of the whitening of our churches being of medieval origin.

At Peterborough, Robt. de Lyndsey (elected abbot 1214) while sacrist, "fecit dealbare volsuras in retro choro."

At Canterbury, among the receipts in the accounts for the year 1391–2: "Item de domino Priore vjs viijd pro vauta chori reparanda et dealbanda" . . . (also 3 sums of 6s. 8d. each "pro eodem"). Among the expenses: "Item Albacione chori Ecclesie xij li xijs viijd." In

1392-3, among the receipts: "Item de Domino Prioer ad Dealbacionem chori vjs viijd" . . . (also other sums of 12s., 13s. 4d., 6s. 8d., 3s. 4d., 10s., 6s. 8d.). Among the payments: "Item pro Dealbacione chori hoc anno vj li vijs vjd."

In 1468, London, St. Andrew Hubbard: "It. to a workman that red ochred and whited the church iijs iiijd."

How important the work of whitening the choir at Canterbury was held to be is shown by the very large sums (accounted for by the costliness of scaffolding) spent upon it in the space of two years, and the number of subscribers.

Mr. St. John Hope tells me that he has conducted many excavations of abbeys destroyed at the dissolution and yet he has constantly found coat upon coat of white on the stones of their churches which he has unearthed. Thus very clearly whitewashing does not appear to have been the work of the Puritans, though no doubt it was sometimes a consequence of their work; but rather it is a tradition of a healthy sense of beauty, viz. the love of what is clean and fresh; or, to put it negatively, the opposite temper to what has lately gained the name of æstheticism as a reproach, which has been handed down from medieval days to our own.

IX.—Steps.

As the old altars were wider than we are apt to make them now, so particularly is this the case with their steps.

The Islip roll shows how large the footpace was at Westminster, of both the principal[1] and even of the side altars, as the accompanying cut from the indifferent reproduction in *Vetusta Monumenta* illustrates. The same may be seen in some miniatures ;[2] and I believe all remaining footpaces will be found to be of corresponding width, wherever it was attainable. That some of the miniatures show exceedingly narrow steps, is accounted for by their purposely contracted perspective. Some Flemish pictures show footpaces of wood on marble floors. It is very important also that the footpace and all the steps of the presbytery should be low as well as wide, and that they should not be slippery ; and old precedent would seem to show that it is of much more consequence that they should be suitably and richly carpeted at festivals with mats and with herbs, than that they should be of marble or even of tiles. Not but what, undoubtedly, the English floor was often of tiles, as in Flanders it was of black and white marble. And nothing can be said against the painted tiles, but the difficulty there is to recover their old colouring.

It is against the tradition of English churches that the chancel should have many steps, particularly at its entrance, where frequently in old parish churches there

[1] In the "Restoration of the old High Altar of Westminster Abbey" (*The Builder*, July 2, 1892), by Mr. H. W. Brewer, the width of this footpace is, however, exaggerated ; since one of the three altar steps shown in the roll is omitted. It is a pity also that the much smaller circumference of the cloth hanging upon the pix in relation to the triple crown should have been overlooked in this drawing. See pp. 57, 58, above.

[2] *E.g.* British Museum, MS. Harl. 2,846, fol. 32.

is no step at all; or even a step down to a lower level.[1] The reason for the very few steps found in the chancels

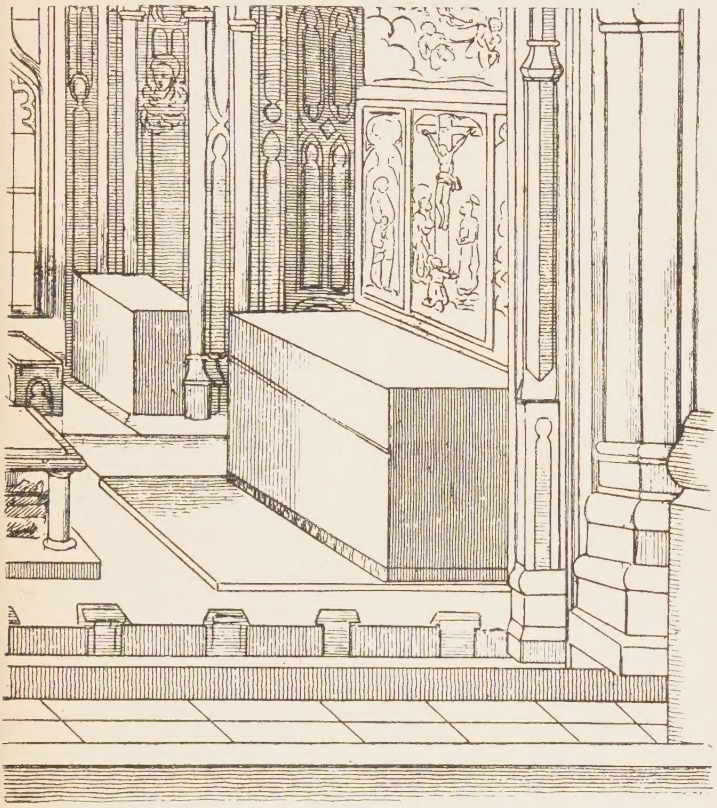


FIG. 4.—THE ALTAR IN THE ISLIP CHAPEL.
From the reproduction of the Islip Roll in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

of parish churches, is apparent directly we consider, not

[1] As, *e.g.*, at Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire.

only the endeavour to keep the east window low that as much of it as possible may be seen through the chancel screen; but also that the height of the closed part of the screen beneath the transom is controlled by the backs of the stalls, which must be about 3 feet 6 inches above the step on which they stand; so that in proportion to the number of steps at this point the transom of the screen is thrust higher, and the view of the altar begins to be cut off to those kneeling in the nave.

X.—The Chancel Screen.

The screen, with its rood loft, comes within the present subject in regard to its relation to the altar, and the intimate dependence of the one upon the other. The parish church screen, by its light, though numerous, mullions and intricate tracery and groining, all richly gilded and painted, is made subservient to the beauty of the altar and of the east window, whose glass is enriched, as seen through it, beyond what could be believed apart from the sight of it. But wherever the reredos of the high altar forms part of, or gives place to, a high screen of similarly painted and gilded carved work, we no longer find the open screen of parish churches in front of it. Generally in such a case there was a solid choir screen which completely cut off the high altar from view, and against which other altars were placed. In Spain, the country famous for tall altar-screens, there is usually a light metal grate

between the solid screens closing the chancel at the east and west, which divides the presbytery from the choir.[1] Such a transparent veil of metal is as suitable in front of a solid wall, or enclosing a chantry or tomb, as it is thrown away in front of a window. Yet, now we often see a grate at the entrance to the chancel, or a chapel, of a parish church before the east window; and, on the other hand, if such a chancel, or chapel, should still possess an open screen of timber, that part of the window that appears through the screen is systematically blocked up by carved work, or even by plain curtains. Indeed, there is nothing that more needs re-assertion than the right relation of the chancel screen to the high altar; and the difference of treatment, in this relationship, observable in a parish church from any other. In the parish church the high altar is for the worshippers throughout the whole building, and, therefore, the screen before it is an open one, and is so treated that it may best enhance the dignity of the altar, and in no way conceal it. And the screen of a church that was merely parochial seems to have had no altar set in front of it, except the church were without aisles at the time of its consecration.[2]

But in churches other than parish churches, altars at the sides, or even an altar as central as the high altar itself, were set against the solid screen which cuts off

[1] *E.g.* at Pamplona.

[2] As at Ranworth, in Norfolk; and at Partrishow, where the original stone altars remain *in situ*.

the choir from view. Thus the church is not treated as a whole from east to west, as is the parish church, but it is cut transversely into two or three divisions at the least; each with its own altar or altars, and complete in itself; and of necessity only the easternmost of these divisions can terminate in a window whose sill comes low down over the altar.

The description of the screen westwards of the choir screen at Durham is full of information about numerous details of our subject:—"In the body of the Church, betwixt two of the highest pillars supporting and holding up the west side of the Lantern, over against the Quire door, there was an Altar called Jesus Altar, where Jesus mass was sung every Friday throughout the whole year. And of the backside of the said Altar there was a fair high stone wall: at either end of the wall there was a door, which was locked every night, called the Two Rood Doors, for the Procession to go forth and come in at. And betwixt those ij doors was Jesus Altar placed, as is afforsaid. And at either end of the Altar was closed up with fine wainscot, like unto a porch, adjoining to either rood door, very finely varnished with fine red varnish; and in the wainscot, at the south end of the Altar, there was iiij fair Almeries, for to lock the chalices and silver crewets, with two or three suits of Vestments and other ornaments, belonging to the said Altar for the holy days and principal days. And in the north end of the Altar, in the wainscot, there was a door to come in to

the said porch and a lock on it, to be locked both day and night. Also there was standing on the Altar, against the wall aforesaid, a most curious and fine Table, with ij leaves to open and close again, all of the whole Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, most richly and curiously set forth in most lively colours, all like the burning gold, as he was tormented, and as he hung on the cross, which was a most lamentable sight to behold. The which Table was always locked up, but only on principal days. . . . Also there was, in the height of the said wall from pillar to pillar, the whole story and Passion of our Lord wrought in stone, most curiously and most finely gilt, and, also, above the said story and passion, was all the whole story and pictures of the xij. Apostles, very artificially set forth and very finely gilt, containing from the one pillar to the other wrought very curiously and artificially in the said stone. And on the height above all these foresaid stories from pillar to pillar, was set up a border very artificially wrought in stone, with marvellous fine colours, very curiously and excellent finely gilt, with branches and flowers, the more that a man did look on it the more was his affection to behold it, the work was so finely and curiously wrought in the said stone that it could not be finelier wrought in any kinde of other metal."[1]

If, then, the solid screen was made much of when a necessity, it was nevertheless not chosen in preference to the low east window. And for the high altar of a

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, pp. 28, 29.

parish church a high screen never was a necessity, except in the very rare case of its possessing an eastern chapel.[1]

But in the latest period of English architecture, when painted glass had passed through its early stages to such a perfection of beauty that all can forgive the sacrifice sometimes made to it of window tracery and a more sober construction, it is observable that the most prominent feature of the high altar (and not in parish churches only) is not a solid screen, but the window. At Gloucester, in spite of its great Lady Chapel and of all difficulties of construction, the eastern wall of the choir from side to side, and from the apex of the vaulted roof almost to the altar, is one vast window. Not that a great window filling up the whole of the east end of a church was peculiar to the later style; it is to be found equally, in such a Cistercian church as Tintern,[2] to the refinement and reserve of whose earlier style none can take exception. It would seem, therefore, that almost always, even when fronted by a solid screen, the low east window was preferred; certainly in churches that had an open chancel screen it was universal. And the reason surely is that the chancel screen was of such gorgeous workmanship that there was nothing left to contrast with it in splendour but the painted images in the glass which surmounted the reredos proper and transmitted, in a manner impossible

[1] As at Long Melford. See note on p. 51 above.
[2] See p. 51 above.

even to the gold and gems of which that was sometimes composed, the very light of heaven itself.

XI.—The Rood Loft and Lecterns.

The description of the rood screen of Durham continues in these words: "And also above the height of all, upon the wall, did stand the most goodly and famous Rood that was in all this land, with the picture of Mary on the one side and the picture of John on the other, with two splendent and glistering Archangels, one on the one side of Mary and the other of the other side of John. So, what for the fairness of the wall, the stateliness of the pictures, and the livelihood of the painting, it was thought to be one of the goodliest monuments in that church. Also on the backside of the said Rood before the Quire door there was a Loft, and in the south end of the said loft the Clock did stand."[1] But upon the eastern screen: "one of the fairest pair of the three [organs] did stand over the Quire door, only opened and played upon at principal Feasts." And again: "there was a Lectern of wood like unto a pulpit standing and adjoining to the wood organs, over the Quire door, where they had wont to sing the nine lessons in the old time on principal days, standing with their faces towards the High Altar."[2] A lectern in this position may be seen in a miniature,

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 29.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 14. See also the description of the eastern or choir screen on p. 17.

referred to above, in which the rood is shown on the same loft;[1] and in another, viz., in a book of hours known as "the Bedford Missal," an organ is shown towards the south end of the choir loft, fronting west.[2]

The organ also is found on the rood loft in parish churches. Indeed, it is now generally accepted that the chief purpose for which the later rood lofts of our parish churches were set up was to make provision, not only for the organs, but for the minstrels also who performed the pricksong, or harmonised music,[3] that was then finding its way into the churches, and which, it would in consequence appear, was not allowed in the chancels.

Roger Martyn, who writes at the time of the havoc made in our churches in the years that immediately succeeded 1549, describing "the state of Melford Church and our Ladie's Chappel at the East end, as I did know it," tells us, "there was a fair Rood Loft, with the Rood, Mary and John, of every side, and with a fair pair of Organs standing thereby; which Loft extended all the breadth of the Church, and on Good Friday a Priest,[4] then standing by the Rood, sang *The Passion*. The side thereof, towards the body of the church, in twelve partitions in boards, was fair painted with the images of the twelve Apostles."[5] Here the singing

[1] British Museum, Add. MS. No. 16,997, fol. 120.

[2] *Ibid.* Add. MS. No. 18,850, fol. 32.

[3] See *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. ii. p. 319.

[4] Note one priest, not three singers, as to-day at Rome.

[5] John Preston Neale, *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and*

of *The Passion* is directly mentioned as having taken place on the rood loft, and it is inferred by the following entry of 1524, at St. Lawrence, Reading: "It. for drink in the rood loft upon Palm Sunday jd."[1] But there is no mention of the singing of the epistle and gospel from that position, nor even from the choir screen at Durham; while we are told that, "at the north end of the High Altar there was a goodly fine Lettern of brass, where they sung the epistle and the gospel, with a gilt pelican on the height of it, finely gilded, pulling her blood out her breast to her young ones, and wings spread abroad, whereon did lie the book that they did sing the epistle and the gospel."[2] Again, in the Islip roll, and in Roger Van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments, a lectern in that position is shown, with (in the latter picture) a deacon standing at the book upon it. Also in some Derbyshire parish churches there are instances of stone lecterns on the north wall, near the high altar, whose purpose must have been the same.[3] Probably, therefore, it is not too much to say

Parochial Churches in Great Britain, &c. London, 1825, vol. ii. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk, p. 13.

[1] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading, 1883, p. 57.

[2] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, p. 11.

[3] See J. Charles Cox, *Notes on Churches of Derbyshire*, Chesterfield, 1877, vol. ii. p. 115: "Against" the north chancel wall at Taddington "is a stone reading-desk or slab, projecting nine inches, and three feet from the ground." And in vol. iii. p. 165: In the north chancel wall at Etwall is a "stone gospel shelf or lectern, with an uncharged shield below it." On plate xv. p. 298, two others, at Spondon and Chaddesden, are illustrated. Two other instances occur in vol. iv., viz. Crich, p. 54, and Mickleover, p. 307, and plate ii. p. 8.

that the chief purpose of the later lofts was to serve for a musician's gallery, even if at times the gospel was also sung from them.

At Louth there was paid for "making a coffer for pricksong books by the door side in our Lady Quire; . . . and for setting up the Flemish organ in the rood loft by four days, 20d."[1] And at the church of St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1506: "It. paid to Harry Blankstan, painter, for gilding of the Rood Mary and John in the rood loft xs. iiijd." "It. paid for setting up the said rood Mary and John for removing of the organs and for making the seat for the player of the same organs, xxd."[2]

This last item is quoted by Pugin in his magnificent *Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts;* but in condemning the use of the loft for a musician's gallery, as being a post-medieval corruption, he misses the significance of it.[3] There was a misconception, common in his time, which failed to see in the western galleries the survival of at least one use of the rood lofts, and that, therefore, they were only another assertion of the principle which would exclude from the chancels all but the clerks who sang the ritual plain chant.

It is from this misconception, and the levelling of all lofts consequent of it (whatever else we may have

[1] *Archæologia,* London, 1792, vol. x. p. 93. *Extracts of an old book relating to the building of Louth Steeple,* 1500—1518.

[2] C. Kerry, *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading,* Reading, 1883, p. 57.

[3] London, 1851. See, *e.g.* pp. 19, 42, and 66.

gained by it) that there has latterly sprung up a great abuse. I refer to the crowding of our parish church chancels with large bodies of men and boys, with little or no title to be called clerks (although they wear the clerical cassock)[1] who sing a style of music many degrees further removed from the plain chant than was the old pricksong. Now, the musician will admit that much musical power was lost by bringing down both singers and organs from the lofts; and the utilitarian will admit that a gallery economizes space; while (and it is here that the loft specially touches our subject) even if in rare cases the singers leave sufficiently dignified space round the altar, their surplices are almost bound to present a distracting mass of white between it and the worshippers who are westwards of them. Of old, the chancels were built, not to accommodate what we call "surpliced choirs"; but, primarily, to give dignity to the ceremonial, simple or elaborate, according to the scale of the Church, connected with the high altar. If the ceremonial was simple, still dignity required all the space the average parish church chancel gave, after deducting what was occupied by the short single rows of stalls, or benches, on each side and returned at the screen, which was provided for the clerks.

The use of the surplice, moreover, without the *cappa nigra,* or the silk cope, was comparatively rare even

[1] See *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, London, 1886, vol. ii. p. 127.

in quires,[1] where the singing clerks were shut off from the view of the nave or ante-chapel, as the case might be, by the closed screen, and thus did not come between the other worshippers and the altar. While parish churches, if the diocese of Salisbury in the thirteenth century may be taken as representative, possessed very few surplices and rochets indeed.[2] Again, in later times something like the *cappa nigra* is found without the surplice: "in 1661," so Mr. Mackenzie Walcott writes, "the choristers of Lincoln had no surplices, but only gowns faced with lamb skin"; and "at Norwich the choristers wear surplices on Sundays, holydays and eves, and at other times wear purple gowns, and sit in the organ loft."[3]

Loss of space in the chancel and the blocking up of the high altar are not the only evils consequent on the destruction of the lofts: for the organ has to be placed somewhere, and if it is not choked in a side chamber built specially for it and generally an eyesore to the church, it is made to be an even worse offender by its blocking up the east window of an aisle and taking the place of the altar for which the aisle was built.

Musicians' galleries have been objected to on the

[1] See *Reg. S. Osmund*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 34.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 275—314. See the inventories made in the visitation of the prebendal churches by William de Wanda, 1220. But no doubt in some town churches, and at a later date, more surplices are to be found, *e.g.* at St. Peter's, Cornhill, in 1546, there were "vij surplices for children for the quire" (*Antiquary*, 1897, vol. xxiii. p. 278).

[3] *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, London, 1872, pp. 143, 144. The "purple gowns" are still worn at Norwich without surplices.

ground of their tending to irreverence; but experience shows that the mere position of the singers, however prominent it may be, will not itself be guard against that. Indeed, it would appear that we have gained nothing by pulling down the lofts; nor do the very much greater dimensions of the modern organ make a return to the old arrangements impossible, provided they be kept within reasonable bounds.

It is true that if the organ can be got into the rood loft there may be room for nothing else there, except the rood itself and a lectern for two or three singers, unless it be, as was so frequently the case in the later churches, that the loft crosses both nave and aisles. But if the aisles are too small for this, and yet the nave is of a fair size, we may reasonably borrow precedent from outside of a parish church, and set up a loft for either singers, or organ, at the side. "Before Jesus Altar," at Durham, that is, westwards of the rood screen and loft, "there was on the north side, betwixt two pillars, a loft for the Mr. and choristers to sing Jesus mass every Friday, containing a pair of organs to play on, and a fair desk to lay their books on in time of divine service."[1] And Mr. Mackenzie Walcott tells us that "at Oxford until the recent restoration, the choir sat perched up in galleries on either side." And adding a list of well-known side galleries still existing, he goes on to say, "The tribune of Winchester, the galleries with book-stands over the chapels in the Lady Chapel of

[1] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, pp. 29, 30.

Gloucester, and the galleries in the nave of Wells and Exeter, served for the minstrels."[1] But if both these means of setting the organ and the minstrels up on high fail, to resort to the old-fashioned west gallery[2] is a better alternative than is given by our present customs. Another modification of the use of the old lofts suggests itself to meet a possible need. If it be granted that it is permissible for women to take formal part in the music, where could they be better placed than in a loft, shut off from view by a light screen surmounting the solid part of its parapet? One objection to the old west gallery was the presence of women and girls in it as well as men and boys; but a body of women singers visible anywhere else in the church, particularly if near the surpliced choir (where they must be to be of much service) is equally or more objectionable; while what shall be said of the latest development of all, viz., putting women into cassocks and surplices, and admitting them into the chancels? Can anything more exhibit the contrast of the modern temper to the old than this?

Lecterns in the middle of the choir, at which the cantors or other clerks sang from their ritual books, are of common occurrence in pictures.[3] No doubt the lessons also were sometimes sung from such lecterns; and there would appear to be no precedent for a lectern

[1] *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, London, 1872, p. 144.

[2] There are medieval western galleries in East Anglia, *e.g.*, at Aylsham and Cawston; but I am not aware if their purpose is definitely known.

[3] See, *e.g.*, British Museum, Add. MSS. No. 16,997, fol. 145, and No. 18,192, fol. 110.

for the lessons outside of the chancel screen, in parish churches no more than in other churches.

XII.—The Question of a Vestry.

Very well known is the arrangement of doors, usual in abbey churches, on either side of the high altar, which gives access through the screen to the vestry or chapel behind, and makes possible the ancient custom of censing all round the altar; a custom which was, *e.g.*, preserved at Salisbury.[1]

But there is some precedent for it in other churches also. At Long Melford, in the east wall of the chancel, and on the south side of the high altar, there is a door leading into a small vestry between it and the Lady Chapel.[2] And Mr. St. John Hope tells me of some other cases of parish churches possessing low screen walls behind the high altar, that have one door each, viz., at Sawley and Tideswell in Derbyshire. And at Hope in Derbyshire, and Blakeney in Norfolk the same arrangement has existed. Arundel, in Sussex, is also an interesting example. There the old high altar and the slab, "12 feet 6 inches long by 4 feet wide," is "built against a plain stone wall about 8 feet high, and standing out about 7 feet in advance below the sill of the east window"; and "there is no other Credence or Piscina,"

[1] See *Reg. S. Osmund*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 52.

[2] E. Lauriston Conder, *Church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk*, London, 1887. See Plan, p. 1. The vestry is about 7 feet wide; and 19 feet 8 inches long, *i.e.* the width of the chancel.

but the Piscina behind the wall, "to the high altar, but small doors at each end of it through the Reredos wall," and "a separate entrance, or Priest's door, at the south end of this passage or vestry."[1]

Again, the will of Henry the Sixth giving instructions concerning Eton College Chapel, directs that "behind the high altar shall be viij. feet."[2]

The position of the piscina eastwards of the altar-screen, at Arundel, makes it more easily to be believed that the high altar was not so usually against the east wall as would otherwise appear. The arrangement, if followed (as it has been in some new churches), would give us convenient vestry space; and if more is required, we can at least avoid the addition of such vestries as from their size or position have disfigured, or even mutilated, many of our churches.

But in many cases of small country churches, if the old customs were followed of vesting at the altar and of keeping the vestments and other ornaments in chests standing in the church, and in lockers in the walls, there would be no occasion for a vestry now, any more than in old days. The mention of aumbries and chests in churches is of constant recurrence in old documents, and their presence should add beauty rather than disfigurement to the building. And the custom of vesting at the

[1] J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, Fourth Edition, Oxford, 1845, vol. i. pp. 10–11.

[2] J. Willis Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, Cambridge, 1886, vol. i. p. 35.

altar must of necessity have been almost invariable, since so few churches possessed vestries. Writing later than 1549, Becon speaks of it as if it were the usual practice.[1] A return to this custom would certainly emphasize the symbolical character of the vestments, and at the same time mark an advance from the sensational theatricalism, or the too conventional formality, that marks our attitude towards these things in England to-day.

[1] Thos. Becon, *The Displaying of the Popish Masse*, London, 1637, p. 296. See also T. E. Simmons, *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, London, 1879, pp. 163, 164, 165.

THE ACT OF 1872 AND ITS SHORTENED, HURRIED, AND EXTRA-LITURGICAL SERVICES.

By J. Wickham Legg.

The Book of Common Prayer and Wren's work at St. Paul's have one or two features in common. Both have something of a mediæval basis; neither belongs to the golden age of liturgy or of architecture; and yet no one has ever touched either of them without spoiling it. The harm done at St. Paul's is by this time known to many; but the mischief done to the Book of Common Prayer by the unfortunate acts passed during the disastrous pontificate of Dr. Tait is not so well known. We all recognize the anarchy in discipline brought about by his Public Worship Regulation Act; but we do not readily acknowledge that the liturgical anarchy from which we now suffer has for its main cause the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872. It is bad enough in what it directly allows; but it is worse in what it has suggested. It has pointed out that any liberty taken with the services of the Prayer-book can be justified by precedents in the Act; and of course

the restrictions imposed by the Act have proved valueless. There is no permission given by the Act to mutilate the Divine Service on Sundays. It is habitually done. There is no permission given in the Act to mutilate the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper. It is habitually done. The Ten Commandments and the Collect for the Queen are habitually omitted. The long exhortation before Communion is also left out, although it contains most important teaching, doubtless because an example has been set in the schedule by the omission of the exhortation at the beginning of Mattins and Evensong. The same influence is to be found at work in the common practice of the omission of the exhortation at the beginning of the Marriage Service. This contains doctrine as to the ends of marriage, which, setting aside the fact that it has its roots in Christian antiquity,[1] is most necessary to be proclaimed in these days of divorce courts, and its omission can be only a prelude to the discarding of those solemn words introduced into the Marriage Service at the Reformation : "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder."

Further, the schedule itself is not obeyed when its directions do not shorten the service enough. It orders one psalm to be said at morning or evening prayer. When it chances that one long psalm is to be said, as on the third evening, the thirteenth morning, the fifteenth or seventeenth evening, only the first few

[1] See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1895, iii. 181.

verses are read and the rest left out. The fact is, the Act has taught the clergy lawlessness.

Before the Act of 1872 there was an earlier Act which changed the order of the lessons;[1] and in its changes showed but little acquaintance with antiquity, or experience in liturgy. One instance of its innovating spirit may be noticed in the change of direction for reading the Pauline Epistles. Following a very ancient distribution of Scripture in Divine Service, Isaiah was begun in Advent, and Genesis in Septuagesima; so likewise the Pauline Epistles were begun as lessons in the evening service immediately after Christmas on January 2. In the new lectionary this ancient distribution was thrown aside, and on this day the Acts of the Apostles begun. The amount of Holy Scripture read was also seriously diminished; the New Testament was read three times a year in the old arrangement; only twice in the new. The length of the lessons from the Old Testament was also curtailed, so that it can no longer be said with confidence that the whole Bible is read over once a year in the daily lessons of the Church of England. Mere fragments of the deutero-canonical books are now read, instead of the greater part of them as formerly. The length of each lesson is reduced from the average of a chapter to fifteen or twenty-five verses, reminding one very forcibly of the diminution of Scripture reading that took place in the late middle ages, just before the Reformation.

[1] The Prayer-book (Tables of Lessons) Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vict. c. 37.

Having passed the Shortened Lessons Act, the anti-liturgical element in the Church took courage and attacked the very structure of the Divine Service with the Act of 1872. Some of us are old enough to remember how completely deceived Churchmen were as to the character of the Act. They were told that expansion and elasticity would be gained by the passing of the Act; that our churches would be full, the working classes would be won. The wooden age of nothing but "Dearly beloved brethren" was over. Some indeed uttered a word of warning, not objected in the general congratulation, but even the more cautious did not foresee the untoward results that were to follow in the wake of the Act. After the experience of twenty years, an Archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to speak of it as "an unfortunate and much perverted" Act,[1] a strong expression of condemnation considering the position of the writer. As a matter of fact it has done nothing to attract the masses to church; it has rather repelled than drawn the pious layman. In the clergy it has encouraged idleness, and carelessness; and the state of liturgical anarchy from which we are suffering is due, as it has been just pointed out, to the influence of the Act.

The liturgical traditions of the English Church were struck at by this Act[2] in two ways: one way by a

[1] Edward White [Benson] Archbishop of Canterbury, *Fishers of Men*, London, 1893, p. 97 (iv. Struggling Views.)

[2] Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, 1872, 35 and 36 Vict. c. 35.

permission to use "a special form of service approved by the ordinary" upon some "special occasion approved by the ordinary;" and in another way by the use of a shortened Mattins and Evensong, according to a plan drawn out in the schedule of the Act. We may put these two innovations under the heads of shortened services and extra-services. Let us take the shortened services first, the scheme for which is to be found in the schedule of the Act.

To understand aright the nature of the services set out in the schedule, it will be well to examine the lines upon which the unaltered services in the Book of Common Prayer were constructed. We may read what the compilers of this Book have to say about this in their preface *Concerning the service of the Church*, where they tell us what their ideal was.

They limit, as in the middle ages, the term "Divine Service" to quire offices, that is, to the recitation of the Psalter, or, as it was called later, the Breviary. In this Divine Service, "the ancient Fathers," they say, "so ordered the matter that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over every year," and in it the psalms were divided into seven portions, so that the whole psalter was read over once a week. If to the psalter and lessons were added a few short prayers, we should have the structure of a Sunday service as it was as early in Church history as the days of Tertullian. In the early Christian assembly the Scriptures were read, the psalms sung, addresses

delivered, and prayers offered.[1] This primitive service, consisting chiefly of psalms and lessons, with short prayers, was the ideal which the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer had before their eyes, and which is really carried out in the several editions of the Common Prayer down to 1872. Their intention of reading the whole of the Bible once a year was very nearly accomplished; but with only two services in the day, Mattins and Evensong, they did not attempt a weekly, but only a monthly recitation of the psalter.[2] Even then all the psalms, without exception, were to be recited. Thus for three hundred years of its existence the Reformed Church of England had liturgical services, of which the recitation of the psalms in a regular order and the reading of Holy Scripture in a definite course were the chief features.

Now how far have the authors of the schedule of this Act kept the ideal of the Reformers in view? The answer must be: Not at all. They have diminished almost to vanishing point the reading of Scripture and

[1] "Est hodie soror apud nos revelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter dominica solemnia per ecstasin in spiritu patitur; . . . prout scripturae leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur." Tertullian, *de anima*, cap. 9. Migne, *Patrologia*, lib. ii. col. 659. See Mr. A. M. Y. Baylay's excellent translation of Abbé Batiffol's *History of the Roman Breviary*, London, 1898, p. 5.

[2] The recitation of the psalter only once a month has its parallel in the Breviary of the Humiliati, a new edition of which was published almost at the same time as the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer. This breviary received a special sanction from Pope Paul III. (See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1886–90, ii. 273.)

of the psalms. Only one lesson need be read, and only one psalm. Formerly, as a rule, three to five psalms were read, and two lessons; the whole of the psalter being recited once a month and nearly the whole of the Bible once a year. Now there is no guarantee that the whole of the psalter shall ever be read; usually that psalm is chosen by the "officiating minister" which is the shortest; for example on the 24th morning it is the 117th, of two verses only, that is usually taken; and the Act is careful to inform us that any portion of the 119th, of eight verses only, may be considered as one psalm. Nor is there any guarantee that the greatest part of the Bible shall be read through in the year as the Prayer-book designs. To-day the one lesson may be from the Old Testament; to-morrow from the New. There need be no continuous reading of a book, except by the good will of the "officiating minister." Thus the really important parts of Divine Service, the readings from Scripture, have been most seriously diminished; and thereby the Act has injured the good reputation of the Church of England as the great communion in Christendom that fed her children largely and daily with the written word of God. True, the "officiating minister" may, if he so please, read the whole of the unaltered service; but how often this is the case let any one who attends week day services testify. Formerly the Churchman was able to boast over Protestant Dissenters that when he went to church he knew precisely in what service he was to join, all its different

parts and sections, and that he was absolutely independent of the "officiating minister" for his prayers. The curate was then bound by the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. Now the service may be scamped by any young man in a hurry, with or without respect to the provisions of the Act. The abolition of all fixed forms has been brought within the horizon of possibilities. It is the great use and advantage of liturgical forms that worshippers are made independent of the "officiating minister," and that every one may know when he goes into church what service he may expect to be asked to join in. It was from this uncertainty, amongst many other evils, that the Act of Uniformity of 1662 freed us; and now the evil has been brought back again to our very doors. We do not want liberty to be given to the "officiating minister." *La liberté suppose la discipline;* it is an ill timed demand for liberty when discipline is in abeyance. The clergyman now thinks that he may deal with the plainest rules of the Book of Common Prayer as he pleases, an opinion not at all confined to what are called High-churchmen. The worst cases of lawlessness come from the members of other parties in the church; but to whatever party clergymen may belong, the first thing now to be taken in hand is the undoing of the teaching of this Act of 1872, and make all understand that when they put on the surplice they become the servants of the Church and cease to be their own masters.

Whether the authors of the Act foresaw these evils

cannot now be said, but it is more charitable to suppose that they did not, and that it was mere want of knowledge or of experience in liturgy that led them to the fatal policy that they have adopted. There are many sources whence they could have gathered information and experience. One of the most useful to them might have been the scheme for shortened services for use in country churches, and oratories of lay confraternities, which one of the best ritualists of the Roman Church, Cardinal Thomasius, published two hundred years ago.[1] In this plan all that was not taken from Holy Scripture was removed from the Divine Service: all anthems, responds, metrical hymns, even the collects, in place of which was said the Lord's Prayer. But the authors of the Act show no acquaintance with this scheme, wholly Biblical, and patristic, and yet conceived on a definite and orderly plan. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw several very important schemes of reform of the Divine Service which might have afforded valuable hints to the authors of the Act. Nothing in what they have produced shows any study whatever of what went before them, and the usual punishment that follows contempt for the lessons of experience has descended upon them.

The faults of the Act seem the less excusable because, without going beyond the bounds of the

[1] Thomasii *Opera*, Romae, 1754. Ed. Vezzosi, vii. 62. De privato ecclesiasticorum officiorum Breviario extra chorum. It is also to be found in Bianchini's first and only volume of his projected edition of Thomasius.

Prayer-book, there is in it a service which might have served them as a model for shortening services, and yet by following it they would have kept the marrow of the service. That part of the Burial Service which is said in church is a quire office. It consists, it is true, of only two psalms and one lesson, and the Lord's Prayer is said at the graveside; but here is all the essence of Divine Service. Had those who drafted the Shortened Services Act been serious in their wish to keep to Prayer-book models, they might have easily reduced the daily office to the psalms and lessons of the day, *Benedictus*, or *Magnificat*, according as it was morning or evening, and the Lord's Prayer. All that is necessary would have been there. Or if this be thought too bald, as in truth it is, Mattins might have begun with *Venite* and proceeded in the Prayer-book order until the Lord's Prayer after the Creed; Evensong could have begun with the psalms of the day, and proceeded in like manner. Those who wished could privately have added from the Prayer-book what goes before and what follows after: and thus the old lines would have been preserved and the intention of the reformers carried out, while the Scriptural character of the Divine Service would have been preserved.

One of the gravest faults which was committed in the Shortened Services Act was the permission to leave out the Lord's Prayer after the Creed. Now this is the most important of the *petitiones* spoken of by Tertullian; it is the very kernel of the prayers of the Divine

Service. The Lord's Prayer comes at this place in all ancient offices. It is hard to speak with patience of this omission, suggested doubtless by some one without any liturgical instincts or knowledge, "to prevent repetition."

Another vexatious thing is the permission to omit *Venite* at Mattins. So, too, to omit *Te Deum* on festivals; and further to omit *Quicunque vult*, which unless by favour of the "officiating minister," need now never be heard throughout the year except on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday; or, by chance, if a festival on which it should be said fall on a Sunday.

The Litany in the Prayer-book is no doubt the introduction to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. It has been well called the Anglican Introit. But the authors of the Act show so little knowledge of its real character that they allow the Litany to be "said after the third collect in the Order for Evening Prayer," instead of at Morning Prayer.

It is curious to see how the schedule has brought back a state of affairs in Divine Service closely akin to that at the end of the middle ages, which the compilers of the Prayer-book thought to remedy; and did, so long as their work lasted. Instead of the whole psalter being known to those who resorted to the Divine Service, only a few psalms were known to the clerks or people at the end of the middle ages. Some estimate the number known at forty, others at sixty. So, in like manner, under the schedule of the Act of

1872, there is no guarantee that the number of psalms with which the people will be familiar need be more than sixty. One psalm at Mattins, and another at Evensong, on thirty days give us sixty psalms; we know what each one of these sixty will certainly be; amongst those allotted to the day it will be that containing the smallest number of verses.

It is the same with the Scripture lessons. The Preface to the Prayer-book tells us that before Edward VI.'s time "when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest was unread." This represents precisely the state of affairs encouraged by the schedule. We are dependent upon the good humour of the "officiating minister" for any orderly reading of Scripture. One day we may have, indeed, a few verses of one book of the Old Testament read to us, but as the lessons from the New Testament are, as a rule, shorter than those from the Old, the lessons from the New are more likely to be chosen. So with the Shortened Services Act we have returned to a state of affairs singularly like that which prevailed just before the Reformation. The Divine Service has been brought back to mediæval corruption. Thus, in our time, has the work of the Reformation been undone by Dr. Tait and his allies.

Now to consider the extra services, or as they are called, less sympathetically, fancy services. In the structure of these services, the Act leaves us absolutely

at the discretion of the ordinary of the place. The only restriction placed by the Act upon the character of these extra services is that there shall be nothing in the service "except anthems or hymns, which does not form part of the Holy Scriptures, or Book of Common Prayer," and even this restriction is taken away if the interpretation given to it by the Archbishop of Canterbury be allowed. Every one wishes to speak with the deepest respect of His Grace, whose treatment of Sir William Harcourt and the *Times* has been exactly what they deserved; but it is hard to prevent oneself from hoping that this interpretation may not be maintained. One might even wish for further restrictions to be imposed upon these extra services. For example, it would be well that they should follow some definite line or scheme, to be found in the Prayer-book; or, if this should be thought too narrow a boundary, in some liturgical precedent. Under the Act any kind of "devotion" may be brought in, if the bishop can only be persuaded to sanction it; or, it has been said, anything that can be "squeezed" out of the bishop. From the liturgical point of view this wish to "squeeze" the bishops into allowing extra services is to be deplored. The extra services will in nearly every case be devised by the parish priest, and presented to the bishop for approval. No criticism by the ordinary will really alter their nature or structure. Now without saying anything about the liturgical knowledge and experience of the average parish priest, liturgical services

are not to be made in this way. They come to perfection but slowly and gradually, not in one afternoon. The bishop and the parish priest between them, without assistance from liturgical scholars, are not likely to produce what is satisfactory or lasting. Even with the best help, this age is not likely to produce anything in liturgy worth keeping. Mere popular services will be the outcome of these dual deliberations. Vapid and fanciful hymns, set to taking tunes, will form the bulk of such services; metrical litanies, on the lines of that of Loretto, with similar music; attempts will be made, no doubt, to imitate the modern service of the Stations of the Cross, of benediction or *Quarant' ore*, but the bishop's sanction can hardly be given to this, even if he be "squeezed." On the other hand, revival and methodist services are attempted. Services not to be distinguished from those of the Salvation Army can be held under the Act. Flower services, lanthorn services, egg services, doll services, and any kind of ludicrous extravagance, are legal if only the bishop's leave can be had. Indeed they are often carried on without his leave; as we see in the revivalist service of the Three Hours on Good Friday.

Nor do the services proposed from time to time by the Convocation of Canterbury for use on certain occasions fill us with much confidence in the liturgical abilities of committees of the provincial synods. Their attempts of twenty years ago to revise the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer were happily brought

to nought by the firmness of the Convocation of York.[1] And another effort in the same direction by the Bishop of Winchester, which in 1896 filled us all with the gravest anxieties, seems to have no chance of being proposed again. But the result of the elaboration by Convocation of liturgical services, a far more difficult matter to handle than amending rubrics, may be seen every now and again in the pages of the *Guardian*. These proposed services are most disquieting. The laity have a right to complain of the want of knowledge of liturgy which these proposals show. The history of the Divine Service seems to have been written in vain for some proctors of Convocation. For example, in the middle ages, was it not the continual interference of proper psalms with the orderly recitation of the psalter that was one of the first things that called for reform in the sixteenth century? Quignon's reform of the Divine Service, so popular that near a hundred editions appeared between 1535 and 1566, went perhaps to the other extreme, and abolished proper psalms altogether, even for principal feasts.[2] Colbert, the great minister

[1] What the rubrics would have been if these attempts had succeeded may be seen in *The Convocation Prayer-book*, London, 1880. The word *offertory* is positively used of a mere collection of money, not for the moment in the service at which the bread and wine are set upon the holy table, or for the anthem or portion of Holy Scripture said during these ceremonies. The Bishop of London has also not been altogether successful in his interpretation of the word. (*London Diocesan Conference, Report . . .* 1899, p. 56.)

[2] See a modern reprint of the first text of this breviary published by the University of Cambridge in 1888, *Breviarium Romanum a Francisco Cardinali Quignonio Editum*, etc.

of Louis XIV., never failed in the midst of his occupations to recite daily the Divine Service, but allowed no proper psalms for saints' days.[1] In this point he was followed by many of the breviaries belonging to that widespread movement for the reform of the Divine Service which arose in France in the eighteenth century. With the exception of the chief festivals of the year the ferial psalms were to be said daily. This is the rule of the present Prayer-book. We have proper psalms for six days only in the year, quite a suitable number; though some think it possible that the Epiphany might be added, and Ash Wednesday taken away, with advantage. But these details put aside, is it not clear that experience teaches that proper psalms and proper lessons should be introduced into the Divine Service with a sparing hand? Yet notwithstanding all these warnings there seem to be some members of Convocation who will be unsatisfied until every day marked in the Calendar have its proper psalms, and lessons, not to speak of such days as harvest festivals, choir gatherings, and the like. The result of this will be that the psalms as a whole will become unknown to the people. We are drifting back to a set of services very similar to those prevalent at the end of the middle ages, as the Preface to the

[1] In my copy of Colbert's breviary, which he put together expressly for his own recitation, there are some contemporary manuscript notes, describing the breviary. One of these is: "Pour les festes de Saints il n'y a point de Pseaumes particuliers, on dit ceux de la Ferie."

Prayer-book, *Concerning the Service of the Church*, tells us: "Now of late time a few of them [the psalms] have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted." In the progress towards which we are considerably helped by the Shortened Services Act.[1]

Would it not be better for us to acknowledge at once that this is not the age in which we can attempt "improvements" in liturgy? The truth is that the art of making prayers and services, even of translating them from the Latin, has been lost. How many satisfactory new versions of Gregorian collects are there? The revised version of the New Testament is a standing monument of the incapacity of the present age to produce anything fit for liturgical reading. Some of us are old enough also to remember the prayers on fasting days or days of humiliation which used to be set forth by authority, and which even then caused those days to be a terror to the faithful. The more modern efforts at constructing prayers and translating collects belong to the same level of excellence as these older attempts at entirely new prayers. Nothing better can be expected in the present age. Surely it would be advisable to confess our weakness and to give up attempts at composing new services which, if the past have any teachings for us, will only be failures, like those that went before. The secret of constructing liturgies has been lost, even by the age in which there are perhaps more students of liturgies than in any

[1] See above, p. 140.

age that went before. The Act of 1872 is sufficient testimony to its incompetence.

Thus dangers from the one side and the other threaten us if authorities allow the Act to be put in force. A short and simple remedy would be the repeal of the Act. It was passed in the mid-Victorian time, of which we are all heartily ashamed, so that there ought to be but little opposition. And only its repeal will be satisfactory: for if the bishops allow the section which legalizes these fancy services to fall into disuse, there yet remain the schedule and its shortened services. Persons who occupy themselves with what is called Church Reform might really be wholesomely employed if they would set forward the repeal of this Act as the first step in their programme.

There is another result of the Act, not indeed contemplated by it, but for which there can be no doubt that it is very greatly answerable: the practice of hurrying over the service at a great speed. This wretched custom was in existence before the passing of the Act. But the idea of hurrying services never before received approval from authority. Now a remonstrance against irreverent and indistinct reading of the service can be always beaten off by the reply that it is in accordance with the spirit of the law of the land. Unluckily it is also in accordance with the spirit of the age. It is one of the misfortunes of our time that we are always in a hurry. Many men seem well pleased to be

always in haste, always pressed for time, never to have a minute for reflection or meditation, or an instant in which to possess their soul. This fatal temper has had a good deal to do with the passing of the Shortened Services Act. For Churchmen to admit it is death.

Admitting the opinion that it is a good thing that services should be shortened, as the Act does, it is easy to shorten them still more by hurried recitation. Nowadays the recitation of divine service has become so rapid that all sense of reverence and decency must be lost by clerks and people. The authors of the Act themselves did not expect this state of affairs, and it may be doubted if any Churchman of any authority or position can find any excuse for such a practice. The consequences of this rapid delivery are often most deplorable. The most sacred words are jumbled up together, and sometimes fall into the most distressing collocations. The necessity for taking breath in the middle of a sentence makes prayers or the words of Scripture appear absolute nonsense. One of the sources of this unfortunate practice may be a wish for imitation of modern Roman practice. Now this modern Roman practice arises, not because it is thought that rapidity of recitation is a good and edifying thing in itself, but from the iron discipline of that communion. The people are bound to hear mass every Sunday and holiday of obligation under pain of mortal sin: so, to make the duty as easy as possible, the mass is got through rapidly, in something like twenty minutes. A writer with whose

present attitude Churchmen can have but small sympathy, but who has had abundant opportunities of information, tells us:

"Priests soon contract the habit of hurrying through their Mass at a speed which ill harmonizes with their belief in its most solemn character. . . . No doubt a priest works up to a high rate of speed largely out of anxiety to meet the wishes of his congregation, yet the sight is distressing to one who knows how much is squeezed into the twenty minutes. An ordinary worshipper sees the rapid, irreverent genuflexions and desperate hand movements which are supposed to be reverent crosses over the Sacrament; but the mutilation of the prayers is much more deplorable," etc.[1]

Now, if Roman practice be so excellent, as some persons tell us, could not our English clergymen imitate Roman Catholic clergymen in this particular, and meet the wishes of their congregations? If they are so anxious to follow Roman Catholic customs, here is an opportunity for them; for one knows that few English congregations wish to hear the Divine Service recited, or the Sacraments administered, in the extraordinarily rapid way that may too often be heard nowadays.

This hurried mode of saying the service is not liked by the better layfolk. What they prefer is punctuality in beginning the service, and a steady, sedate way of conducting it when begun. People do not want to see

[1] Joseph McCabe, *Twelve Years in a Monastery*, London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1897, p. 99.

the curate rush into choir seven minutes late, and then hear him rattle through Mattins or Evensong with the speed of the Flying Dutchman, commas being of no account, and full-stops very little. People complain especially of the rate at which the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, and the Belief are taken, so as to make it impossible, without the wind of Achilles, to keep up with the reader. As these clergymen are so fond of Roman precedents, they might take another hint in this matter from Roman practice. At ordinations the new ordained priests recite aloud with the bishop the words of the canon of the Mass. The Roman authorities know, better than some of our friends, that if a number of voices are to recite a formula together without confusion, the words must be said slowly. So at ordinations in the Lateran Basilica at Rome the canon is said with great slowness, pauses being made after each sentence, to enable the stragglers to come up. Something of this sort is what is wanted with us, when we recite prayers together.

Then with the recitation of the psalms: what can be more painful than to hear the psalms said so that the verses overlap each other? The officiant begins his verse as soon as the people have got to the colon in their verse. It is impossible to imagine that any profit or edification can follow such a way of saying the psalms. The friars, and especially the nuns, may say their hours in this way, but that is because they have not Latin enough to understand what they recite;

it is of no importance to them how the service is said so long as the mere words are uttered. But with our vernacular service it is simply stupid for us to imitate such a custom. On the other hand, the Cowley Fathers set us in this matter a most excellent example. The distinctness and sobriety with which the Divine Service is recited in their chapel is beyond all praise. The psalms are said very slowly, with a pause in each verse at the colon, and the lessons read in such a manner that they must be easily heard by every one in the chapel.

Another just ground for complaint is that a fresh liturgical action is often begun without any decent interval, *e.g.* while walking back to the stall after a lesson, or while rising from the knees, or while kneeling down; for example, during the "prayers" after the Creed, "Lord have mercy" is said while kneeling down, and "O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us," while rising up. How often do we see the celebrant go to the middle of the altar, begin the Creed, and then pull the book towards him? or begin the Preface while turning round after *Sursum corda?* Even the words of administration of communion may be said in such a hurry that part is said to one communicant and the remainder said while moving away to another. This, indeed, is what Jeremy Taylor would have called a huge indecency.

Hasty recitation of the Divine Service brings inevitably in its train an imperfect enunciation of the

words. They are clipped, maimed, and mutilated. In the middle ages this was esteemed a grievous fault. As "clippers or falsers of the King's money are punished by death, right so they that clip away from the money of God's service any words or letters or syllables . . . deserve to be grievously punished."[1] Immediately after, the same writer tells an amusing story, doubtless related by him in all seriousness, of what happened to an abbot in a Cistercian monastery, standing and singing his Mattins in the quire. "He saw a fiend that had a long and a great poke hanging about his neck, and went about the quire from one to another, and waited busily after all letters, and syllables, and failings that any made; and them he gathered diligently and put them in his poke. And when he came before the abbot, waiting if ought had escaped him that he might have gotten and put in his bag, the abbot was astonied and afeard of the foulness and mishape of him, and said unto him: 'What art thou?' And he answered and said: 'I am a poor devil and my name is Titivillus, and I do mine office that is committed unto me.' 'And what is thine office?' said the abbot. He answered: 'I must each day,' he said, 'bring my master a thousand pokes full of failings and of negligences in syllables and words that are done in your order in reading and in singing, or else I must be sore beaten.'"

There must be many a parish nowadays in which

[1] *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, Early English Text Society, 1873, ed. J. H. Blunt, p. 53.

the local Titivillus instead of running any chance of being sore beaten must rather have asked for a suffragan to help him in gathering up the broken words and syllables mispronounced in reading and singing the Divine Service. It seems strange that our modern clerks should so readily adopt a practice acknowledged to be a fault even in the middle ages.

The fault of clipping words brings with it another fault, that of mumbling the words, so that no one can understand what is being said. The faithful entertain the suspicion that it is not wished that they should hear and understand the words of the liturgical lessons, the epistle, and gospel. Here the pious Roman Catholic advises us against hurry and mumbling. *Listen with close attention, as if thou heardest the Prophet or Apostle himself instructing, warning, or reproving thee,*[1] says a most excellent devotional book. But some of our friends are so insular in their ideas that they will take no hint from the best Roman Catholic writers abroad unless it happen to be much the same as the practice of the English papists at home. Nothing, it seems, can be wrong that is borrowed from Farm Street, or the Oratory.

To add something to the dissuasives from attending Divine Service the more advanced spirits now read the lessons from the revised version without waiting even for episcopal authority. They might as lawfully recite

[1] See Dr. Pusey's version of J. M. Horst's *Paradisus Animae Christianae*, London, 1848, vol. ii. p. 116.

the psalms from the authorized version. In fact, it would be more tolerable. We have the highest authority against putting a piece of new cloth unto an old garment; and we do this when we pass abruptly from the noble language of the Book of Common Prayer into the broken English of the revised version. If the revised version is to come into general use, let the whole of the Prayer-book be first re-cast and re-translated after this model. The collects will doubtless be much improved; and we shall thereby earn the gratitude of posterity.

Such then are the chief evils which have arisen from the passing of this mischievous Act; some of them, indeed, are perhaps too deeply ingrained in what is called the spirit of the age to be readily uprooted; but it is time that a protest should be raised against such treatment of Divine Service by the clergy. Surely the laity are not too exacting, when they ask that the service be said audibly, distinctly, and slowly, and that the clergy should keep at the most twenty minutes or half an hour free in their daily occupations in order that Christian men may have services which they can attend without feelings of distress and repulsion.

THE REGALISM OF THE PRAYER-BOOK.

By J. Wickham Legg.

The appearance of frequent petitions for the king and the royal family in the Book of Common Prayer may be attacked by those who have no interest in the study of antiquity, and who look upon the practice of the Church of Rome to-day as the one thing to be imitated; but the Prayer-book command will be valued by those who understand the real position of the king in the œconomy of the Church. This regalism, if I may be allowed so to call it, has been the subject of comment both by friend and foe. For instance, Cardinal Newman, when leaving the Church of his baptism for a foreign communion, formulated certain objections, weak in their historical basis, against the practice of the Church of England and the Prayer-book.[1] Objections like his may have weight with some who have not left the communion of the Church of England. They have, no doubt, helped on the

[1] J. H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, ch. i. sect. ii. par. 4, § 6. London, 1845, p. 48.

holding of the opinion that the regalism of the Book of Common Prayer is a fault or blemish in the English Church, and the next step has been to translate these opinions into practice, discrediting the prayers for the king by calling them the state prayers, and thus preparing the way for leaving them out whenever possible, as the Shortened Services Act of 1872 directs. But if, on the other hand, we inquire a little into the history of the relations between the king and the Church, there will appear small reason to be dissatisfied with the practice of frequent prayers for the king. The more we look into the history of the early middle ages, before the rise of the parliamentary system, the closer do we find the ties which bind together the king and the Church. Before and at the Norman conquest the king concerns himself with all that the Church does; and to those who, like Cardinal Newman, see a development of Christian doctrine in the history of the Church, the Tudor doctrine that the king is the Supreme Head of the Church may seem quite a legitimate development of a system based upon the acts and teachings of Christian sovereigns like Constantine, Justinian, Charles the Great, and William the Conqueror.[1]

[1] There is an excellent account of the relations between the Church and the sovereign, not known to me until these pages were written, in the *Christian Remembrancer* for April, 1850. It has quite lately been published separately by Macmillan, and acknowledged to have been written by the late Dr. Church, Dean of St. Paul's. Of continental churches I have taken but little notice in the text; but I may say that Alcuin, writing to Charles the Great in 799, and thus before he became emperor, tells him that he is greater than the pope and eastern emperor (Martin Bouquet, *Recueil*

To answer first of all the objection of Erastianism, it may be submitted that Regalism is not the same thing as Erastianism. Erastianism is a theory of Church government which subjects the Church, bound hand and foot, to an external force, the State, a minister, a public office, or the House of Commons. Regalism is the acknowledgment of the authority of the king, an individual member of the Church, anointed and consecrated by the Church itself to the office of governing and defending the Church. Thus the two ideas are different, if not antagonistic. A writer who will be accused by no one of a reactionary desire to keep the Church in bondage to the State tells us that they must be distinguished. "Erastianism," says Dr. Gore, the Canon of Westminster, "is a name which describes the parody of an ideal which is in itself noble, and deep-rooted in the ancient traditions of the Church and nation."[1] The historical connexion of the royal office in England with the government of the Church has come down to us from the

des Historiens des Gaules, Paris, 1744, v. 612), and adds: "Ecce in te solo tota salus Ecclesiarum Christi inclinata recumbit." And at the very end of the middle ages we find in liturgical books the pope and emperor described as holding the reins of the Catholic Church. ("Sanctae catholicae ecclesiae gubernacula tenentibus." See the colophon to a Basle Missal, printed in 1480, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.) Mr. Edmund Bishop, whose learning can be disputed by no one, has quite recently told his fellow religionists that the Roman Missal of to-day is not the handiwork of the pope, but of the emperor. (*Genius of the Roman Rite*, *Weekly Register* Office, 1899.)

[1] A sermon preached before the University of Cambridge by Charles Gore, *Guardian*, Feb. 19, 1896, p. 271, col. iii.

earliest times. It is not to be set aside because Radical politicians ask for the impossibility of a free Church in a free State, or a certain set of Churchmen threaten us with Erastianism as the only alternative to this impossibility.

To return, then, to the study of the kingly office before the Norman Conquest. The collection called the Laws of St. Edward tells us that the king is the vicar of the Great King to rule the kingdom and people of the Lord, and, above all, Holy Church, and to defend it and them from all who would harm them.[1] Thus, in the early middle ages it was held that the king is the vicar of Christ, and amongst his many offices one of his duties is to rule and defend the Church as well as the people.

And the idea that the king is the Vicar of Christ continues well into the middle ages. An ecclesiastic like Henry of Bracton tells us more than once that the king has no superior on earth, and that he is the Vicar of God.[2]

[1] Laws of St. Edward the Confessor, cap. xvii. De multiplici potestate regia.

Rex autem qui vicarius summi Regis est, ut regnum et populum Domini et super omnia sanctam ecclesiam regat et defendat ab iniuriosis. (B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, London, Record Office, 1840, p. 193.)

Until after the time of James II. the king at his coronation always swore to maintain the laws of St. Edward.

[2] See H. de Bracton, *de legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, Rolls series, 1878, i. 38: "Ipse [rex] sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. . . . Ipse autem rex, non debet esse sub homine sed sub Deo et sub lege quia lex facit regem. . . . Et quod sub lege esse debeat, cum sit Dei vicarius evidenter apparet ad similitudinem Iesu Christi cuius vices gerit in terris." Also ii. 172: [rex] "Dei vicarius in terra," and v. 402: [rex] "superiorem non habet nisi Deum." This writer died some time after 1267.

The same idea of the king's duties is expressed more at length in the præ-Norman Coronation Service, in the prayer of the consecration of the king. This prayer takes the place in the Coronation Service which the consecratory preface holds in the service of the consecration of a bishop, and therefore the expressions used in it are of considerable significance, for they set forth in all solemnity the duties of the royal office. The Church prays that the king may nourish and teach, guard and build up the Church of the whole realm of the Anglo-Saxons, with the people committed to him, and that he may mightily and royally rule and defend [the Church] against all enemies, visible and invisible, by the guidance of the Divine power.[1] The prayer continues not only in the *Liber Regalis*[2] of the later middle ages, but it appears also in the Coronation Service of the Stewart kings,[3] from which it was removed only at the coronation of William and Mary, and after.

Further, the unction which followed immediately

[1] "Hic domine quaesumus totius regni anglo-saxonum aecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi commissis ita enutriat, ac doceat, muniat, et instruat, contraque omnes visibiles et invisibiles hostes idem potenter regaliterque tuae virtutis regimine regat et defendat," etc. (Order in MS. No. 44, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 284. Shortly to be edited by the Henry Bradshaw Society.)

[2] *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, fasc. ii. col. 688. There are some few verbal changes in this Preface of the *Liber Regalis*.

[3] *The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First*, Henry Bradshaw Society, ed. Chr. Wordsworth, 1892, p. 28.

upon this prayer of consecration was held to be sacramental. By it the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost were communicated to the anointed king,[1] and he acquired a character which, like Orders, was indelible. By the anointing the king acquired the right of spiritual jurisdiction, so the judges of England held,[2] and canonists taught;[3] it was signified by the sword carried on the king's right hand at his coronation, a token of justice to the clergy.[4] By this anointing the king became something more than a mere layman, he became of the clergy as well: and this is shown more fully in the later mediæval service of the coronation, which is like in structure to the service for the consecration of a bishop. This will be seen in the following arrangement of the heads of the two services in parallel columns.

[1] Robert Grosseteste, the Bishop of Lincoln, so well known for his opposition to the pope, writes thus to Henry III: "Hoc tamen non ignoramus, quod regalis inunctio signum est praerogativae susceptionis doni sacratissimi Pneumatis quo septiformi munere tenetur rex inunctus praeminentius non unctis regibus, omnes regias et regiminis sui actiones dirigere" (*Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae*, Rolls Series, ed. Luard, 1861, p. 350).

[2] Skipwith, a judge in 1359, said: "Regis (*sic*) sancto oleo uncti sunt spiritualiter (*sic*) jurisdictionis capaces." (Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, *La Graunde Abridgement*, London, Richard Tottell, 1577, fo. 35, line 15 from bottom.)

[3] Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. tit. *De cohabitatione clericorum;* cap. *Ut clericalis;* verb. *beneficiati.*

[4] This is the interpretation given to the third sword at the coronation of Richard III. (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS. 863, p. 439.) The same at Henry VI.'s coronation. (British Museum, Harg. 497, fo. 30.) The three swords had been carried at coronations certainly as early as the time of Richard I.

Consecration of a Bishop.	*Consecration of the King.*
Oath of obedience to the metropolitical see and examination by the metropolitan.[1]	Oath to observe the laws of St. Edward, and instruction by the metropolitan.
Litany, laying on of hands, and *Veni Creator.*	*Veni Creator* and Litany.
	[perhaps laying on of hands.][2]
One collect.	Four collects.
Consecratory Preface.	Consecratory Preface.
Anointing.	Anointing.
	Vesting with alb, tunicle and stole.
Delivery of the crosier, ring, and mitre, with the book of the Gospels.	Girding with the sword, delivery of *pallium regale*, crown, ring, sceptre, and rod.
Mass.	Mass.[3]

It will be seen that vestments, often said to be sacerdotal, the stole, the alb, and the dalmatic, together with the *pallium regale*, which is now not unlike a cope, and may once have been a chasuble, are put upon the

[1] In the Old-Gallican service for the consecration of a bishop there is a further resemblance to the consecration of a king in that the bishop-elect is presented to the people and received with acclamations, as the sovereign is to this day in our service. (J. Mabillon, *De liturgia gallicana*, Lut. Par. 1685, p. 307, in Missale Francorum, ix.)

[2] The Rev. E. S. Dewick (*Coronation Book of Charles V. of France*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899, Notes, p. 77) gives reasons for thinking it "possible that laying on of hands was once the general practice at coronations."

[3] See *Liber Regalis* in the second fasciculus of the Westminster Missal, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, col. 673, and W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, Oxford, 1882, ii. 254.

The Russian Church considers the doctrine of a special grace being given to the king at his consecration so important as to anathematize those who reject it. On Orthodoxy Sunday (the first Sunday in Lent) Arius, Nestorius, and other notable heretics are abjured, and with them those "who say that Orthodox Princes do not ascend their thrones by the special grace of God, and do not at their unction receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the discharge of their great office." (J. M. Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, London, 1850, part i. p. 875.)

new consecrated king. In the account of Henry VI.'s coronation he is said to be vested "as a bishop that should sing mass, with a dalmatic like a tunic, and a stole about his neck, but not crossed, and sandalled, and also with hosen and shoes and copes and gloves like a bishop:" and when the coronation is over he goes to the shrine of St. Edward, and is there "despoiled of all his bishop's gear."[1]

It seems hardly worth while to go further into the proofs of the special character attributed to the king in the middle ages, and his relation to the Church. He was no external force, but an integral part of its œconomy. We see him acting in the collections of laws made before the Conquest. Here the king is shown governing and teaching the Church. He commands that Friday shall be kept as a fast (not abstinence, as some moderns would have it) with the vigils of the apostles;[2] with his witan he canonizes certain saints, and deter-

[1] British Museum MS. Nero c. ix. ff. 172 *b*, and 173. See also Arthur Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, London, 1820, pp. 81 and 264.

[2] The Roman Catholic editor of Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (Early English Text Society, 1868, p. 87) seems to think that the king as well as bishops in the middle ages granted dispensations from the obligation to fast. "Several licences not to fast may be found on the Patent Rolls, and memoranda relating to the same order of things may be found in many other places among our public records, *e.g.* in 1222 or 1223. John, the son of Henry, was indebted to the king in four marks, 'pro licentia comedendi,' half of which sum he paid into the treasury, and the rest was still owing (*Mag. Rot.* 7. H. 3, Rot. a. Everw., as quoted in Madox, *Hist. Exchequer*, 1711, p. 353)." Mr. Trice Martin tells me that he has verified the quotation of Madox from the pipe roll of 7 Henry III. but there is nothing about eating flesh, only "licentia comedendi." Some doubt may thus arise as to the precise nature of this licence. Still, in times

mines the day on which their feast shall be kept; he rules that Sunday shall be kept.[1] So to bishoprics he appoints directly, without the intervention of convent or chapter, by delivery of the crosier.[2] Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, tells us that it was not until 1102 or 1103 that a canonical election took place in England;[3] so that until the time of St. Anselm it was not thought necessary that there should be anything but a mere nomination by the king. Some sort of election controlled by the king was then substituted for direct appointment, and the system of letters missive and *congé d'élire*[4] came to be a custom, crystallized into statute law in Henry VIII.'s time.

after the Reformation, the archiepiscopal licence to eat meat is sometimes, as in 1581, confirmed by letters patent under the great seal. (See *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family*, Camden Soc. 1853, p. 85, note.) This may be a survival of the mediæval practice.

[1] See, for example, in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws* the laws of King Edgar (p. 112) the laws of King Ethelred (p. 131) the laws of King Cnut. (p. 157.)

[2] There is the well known case of St. Anselm, into whose hand the crosier was violently forced by William Rufus, and with this violence there was held to be a lawful appointment to the archbishopric of Canterbury. (Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Rolls Series, 1884, p. 35.)

[3] William Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1878, iii. 296, note 2.

[4] The first *congé d' élire* that I have found is of the year 1275, and is curiously like the form still employed. (See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1895, iii. 310.) The Puritans of 1641, like the "Church Reformers" of to-day, were dissatisfied with the ancient method of nominating bishops by the king. They proposed a plan like that followed by the papists. Three names were to be chosen by the chapter and "assistants," of which the king might nominate one. (S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, Oxford, 1899. "The Bishops' Bill," p. 173.)

Eadmer tells us of William the Conqueror that all things Divine and human waited for his nod, and then gives some details of his Church government, doubtless new to Eadmer if old to England.[1]

"1. He would not then allow any one settled in all his dominion to acknowledge as apostolic the pontiff of the City of Rome, save at his own bidding, or by any means to receive any letter from him if it had not first been shown to himself.

"2. The primate also of his realm, I mean the Archbishop of Canterbury or Dorobernia, presiding over a general Council assembled of bishops, he did not permit to ordain or forbid anything save what had first been ordained by himself as agreeable to his own will.

"3. He would not suffer that any even of his bishops should be allowed to implead publicly, or excommunicate, or constrain by any penalty of ecclesiastical rigour, any of his barons or ministers accused of incest, or adultery, or any capital crime, save by his command."[2]

The king of England, then, holds, and has held, a great part in the government of the Church. He is the first ecclesiastical person of his kingdom, anointed and consecrated by the Church itself to this high office. If St. Paul bade the Christians of his time to offer prayers and eucharists for kings[3] like Nero, how much more

[1] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Rolls Series, 1884, p. 9.
[2] H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents*, xvii. London, 1896, p. 59.
[3] 1 Timothy ii. 1.

is it our duty to pray for a king, one of our own Church, our governor and protector? Pelliccia, the well-known ritualist of the last century, published a work insisting upon the importance of the duty of prayer, public and private, for princes.[1] The book may be studied with considerable advantage at the present moment, and the great increase in liturgical knowledge which the nineteenth century has seen, strengthens rather than weakens Pelliccia's position.

Not to look beyond sea, what is the history of prayers for the king in England? When did they begin? And what were they?

In the laws ascribed to King Wihtred, made at a Witenagemot, held in 696, and, if so, only a hundred years after the coming of St. Augustine, the first article is this:

"To the Church freedom from imposts and that the king be prayed for, and they revere him of their own will, without command."[2]

Thus, almost as soon as the English Church came into being, were English people agreed that it was their duty to pray for the king.

Next, in the laws of King Ethelred, it is ordered that in every church [*congregatione*] there be sung every day for the king and all his people one mass at the morning mass, which is called *contra paganos*. Also that in every monastery every priest should say thirty

[1] A. A. Pelliccia, *De Christianae Ecclesiae tum publica, tum privata prece pro principibus*, Neapoli, 1778, 8vo.

[2] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, 1840, p. 16.

masses for the king and his people, and every monk thirty psalters.[1]

Here then the principle of public prayer for the king is acknowledged. Let us compare the prayers for the king in the Book of Common Prayer with those in the early English liturgical books that have come down to us from before the Conquest.

First, in the prayers at the end of Mattins and Evensong, we have: "O Lord, save the king." At this place, in the *preces* or prayers this versicle is, it may be said, universal. It persists even in the Roman Breviary to this day, as any one will testify who will look at the *preces* still printed in the psalter after the Lauds and Vespers of Monday in the modern Breviary. It is true that these *preces* are but rarely recited; but I have myself heard the versicle said (the last time was in Holy Week, 1897) in no less a basilica than St. Mary Major at Rome.

Then the prayers for the King's Majesty, the Queen and Royal Family, placed, since 1662, after the anthem, at the end of Mattins and Evensong, have very good precedent for their present position and daily recitation. In the *Concordia regularis*, ascribed to St. Æthelwold, two psalms are to be said at the end of each canonical

[1] "Et praecipimus, ut in omni congregatione cantetur cotidie communiter pro rege et omni populo suo una missa ad matutinalem missam, quae inscripta est contra paganos. . . . Et in omni caenobio vel conventu monachorum, celebret omnis presbyter singillatim xxx. missas pro rege et omni populo; et omnis monachus dicat xxx. psalteria." (Thorpe, *op. cit.* p. 144.)

hour with two collects for the king and queen,[1] and much the same direction is repeated in Ælfric's abridgment.[2]

Thus we have ample authority for prayers for the king in the Divine service and for the time and place in which they occur in the Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer. To pass on to the next place where they are found in this book; in the Litany. What authority is there for prayers for the king in this form? In the Leofric Missal, a book in use in the eleventh century in the Cathedral Church of Exeter, there is a litany in which prayers for the kings may be found in a place very similar to that in which they occur in the Book of Common Prayer. After the change into "We sinners do beseech thee to hear us,"

[1] "Peractis nocturnis, dicant duos psalmos; *Domine ne in furore tuo* et, *Exaudiat te Deus*, unum videlicet pro rege specialiter, alterum vero pro rege et regina, ac familiaribus cum his collectis. *Quaesumus omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus Rex noster, N. qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus et vitiorum monstra devitare, et hostem superare, et ad te, quia* (sic) *via veritas et vita es, gratiosus valeat pervenire. Per Dominum nostrum*, etc.

"*Rege quaesumus Domine famulam tuam N. et gratiae tuae in ea dona multiplica, ut ab omnibus libera offensis et temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis et sempiternis gaudeat institutis. Per Dominum nostrum*, etc.

"Pro Rege et Regina, ac benefactoribus. *Deus qui charitatis*, etc. ut antea; et sic finitis omnibus regularibus horis, semper agatur." (Clement Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Duaci, L. Kellami, 1626, Appendix, p. 80.)

[2] "Pro rege et pro benefactoribus omnibus horis duo psalmi canendi sunt cum dominica oratione et precibus et oratione." (See Miss Bateman's edition in G. W. Kitchin, *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester*, Hampshire Record Society, 1892, p. 175.)

follow petitions "that thou wouldest grant us thy peace," and "that thou wouldest take away thine anger from thy people," immediately succeeded by the petitions, "that thou wouldest preserve our kings and their army," and "that thou wouldest grant them life and health and victory;" and after these, "that thou wouldest preserve our bishop with all the people committed to him." It may be noticed that there is no prayer for the Church [1] which is common in litanies at this place,[2] and certainly no prayer for the pope. It may be that Cardinal Newman has been a little hasty in his condemnation of our English Litany.

The next place in the Prayer-book in which a prayer is said for the king is in the first collect in the Eucharistic office, "the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper." Many have been the efforts to get rid of this collect. It has been denied that it is a collect, and called "the prayer for the Queen," in the teeth of the rubric, which says, "*then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King*"; or this collect

[1] This is the Latin version:

"Peccatores te rogamus audi nos
Ut pacem nobis dones te rogamus
Ut iram tuam a populo tuo auferre digneris
Ut reges nostros et exercitum eorum conservare digneris, te rogamus.
Ut eis vitam, et sanitatem, atque victoriam dones, te rogamus.
Ut episcopum nostrum, cum omni plebe sibi commisso, conservare digneris," etc.

(*The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883, ed. F. E. Warren, p. 210. See also a Litany at the end of a psalter, Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 2904, fo. 212.)

[2] Church, king, and bishop is the order in some late mediæval English Litanies printed by W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, London, 1846, ii. 220 and 226. (Oxford ed. of 1882, iii. 230 and 236.)

has been said at one horn of the altar and the collect for the day at another; or, quite simply, left out altogether. The reason for this last procedure is that there is no similar prayer at this place in the Roman missal, quite a sufficient reason for certain Churchmen to be ashamed of the English collect.

Up to 1662 the collect for the king followed the collect for the day; but in 1662, for some reason, perhaps that thereby a turning back of leaves was avoided, the collect for the king was ordered to be said before the collect of the day. Thus from 1549 to 1662 the collect for the king took the place of a collect from a votive mass, the daily mass for the king[1]

[1] In the thirteenth century a General Synod of the Church of Scotland ordered that one collect should be said for the peace of the Church, and another for the king, queen, and their offspring.

Cap. LXX. *Quot collecte dicende sunt in missis.* Sacre Synodi approbatione salubriter duximus statuendum ut per dyocesim nostram in celebratione missarum preter quam in festis duplicibus dicantur quinque collecte una de pace ecclesie scilicet *Ecclesie tue quas* (sic) *domine preces*, etc. alia pro domino nostro Rege et Regina et eorum filiis scilicet *Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum.* (*Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, ii. 32.)

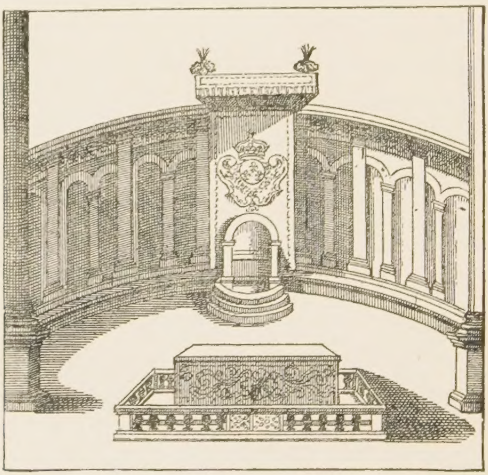
At Vienne, a church known for the antiquity of its customs, the two Benedictines note on St. Bartholomew's day, which was also a Sunday, "On ne fit aucune commemoraison du dimanche, mais on dit une oraison pour le roy, que l'on joignit à celle de la fête sous une même conclusion." ([Martene et Durand] *Voyage litteraire de deux religieux benedictins*, Paris, 1717, i. 255.)

John of Avranches, describing the Rouen customs in the eleventh century, about the time of William the Conqueror, says the fifth collect at mass during the ferial seasons was for the prince. (Joannes Abrincensis, *de officiis*, Migne's *Patrologia*, col. 39.)

So little did Cardinal Newman know of our English mediæval customs that he positively holds up to scorn the practice of setting up the king's

which we find in the Leofric Missal[1] and other Sacramentaries;[2] the collect for the king supplying one of the three, five, or seven collects said at mass. And be it remembered that when a collect was said for the king there followed also a secret and post-common for him as well as the collect. So that the Book of Common Prayer has rather diminished the number of times that

arms in churches. The accompanying wood-cut may show that in France in the last century in one of the most conservative churches in the world, that of Lyons, the royal arms were set up in the most prominent place in the church.



From De Moleon [Le Brun-Desmarettes], *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718, showing the archbishop's throne, surmounted by the royal arms of France. It may be noted that the altar, though vested with a frontal, has no ornaments upon it, the time being out of mass.

[1] *Leofric Missal*, p. 179. *Missa cotidiana pro rege.* See Pelliccia, *op. cit.* p. 325.

[2] See the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896, ed. H. A. Wilson, pp. 249 and 256.

the king is to be prayed for in comparison with the Mass-book.[1] And an opportunity of praying for the king in the prayer for the clergy and people has also been neglected.[2]

The king is also prayed for in the prayer for the Church Militant. This needs hardly any justification. It corresponds to the *et rege nostro N.* of the canon, a phrase to be found in most English editions of the canon, though the words no longer appear in the modern Roman Missal, having been definitely ejected in the reform of Pius V.[3] It is one of the signs of

[1] Dom Prosper Guéranger tells us, without giving any authority for the statement, that Philip II. of Spain obtained from the Holy See the permission that all priests in his dominions should add to the collects of the Mass, even on the greatest feasts, a number of petitions expressing the wants of the Spanish realm, which petitions may be found in the Spanish Missals. (*Institutions liturgiques*, Le Mans, 1840, i. 455.) These prayers for the king, queen, and royal family were repeated at the end of each collect, secret, and post-common, that is, three times in every mass. I should myself have liked to have seen the evidence that the Holy See first granted to Philip II. the right to these prayers for the king and the royal family. They are to be found in missals printed before the adoption of the Roman Liturgy in Spain; for example, in *Missale Pallentinum*, Pallantiae, apud Sebastianum Martynez, 1568, fo. ccclvii.*b.* but they are added in manuscript after the colophon of the Saragossa Missal of 1552 in the British Museum. (C. 52. c. 14.)

[2] An ancient text of the prayer which begins "Almighty and everlasting God, who alone workest great marvels," inserts the name of the king before the bishop. (*Missale Drummondiense*, Burntisland, 1882, p. 91.)

[3] They may be found, however, in Roman Missals printed after 1570 in the dominions of the kings of France and Spain, and I believe the Doge was named in the territories of the Venetian Republic; not without protest from Ultramontanes. I find the emperor named in a book printed for the use of layfolk at Prague in 1688. ("Papa nostro N. et Imperatore nostro N. atque omnibus," etc. The local bishop is thus not named. *Modus orandi tempore missae*, Pragae, 1688, in four volumes, canon, p. 295.)

the bitter hostility of the Court of Rome to all forms of authority except its own.

If we compare the number of times that the king is prayed for in the Book of Common Prayer with those of other liturgies, always excepting that of the Church of Rome, we shall not be inclined to regard our Prayer-book as excessive in its requirements on this head. There is the Liturgy of the Orthodox Church of Russia, for example. It contains abundant instances of prayer for the emperor and imperial family: at the beginning of the Eucharistic office and again in the anaphora:[1] and in the choir offices.[2] Further, no man in Russia can be baptized, or confirmed, or betrothed, or ordained, not to speak of other rites, without praying at length for the emperor, empress, and imperial family by name,[3] a list of whom is on the first page of Mr. Shann's version.

The government of the Church by the king is not the same thing as government by a majority of the House of Commons. The royal government of the Church is a personal government, without the aid of the House of Commons, which, as we have been lately

[1] Alexios Maltzew, *Die göttlichen Liturgien*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 93 and 242.

[2] Michael Rajewsky, *Euchologion der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche*, Wien, 1861, *passim*.

[3] G. V. Shann, *Book of Needs*, London, 1894, pp. 25, 35, 53, 57, 61; Appendix, pp. 16, 21, 28. The very fault that Cardinal Newman found with the English printers, that of setting up the name of the sovereign in large capitals, may be here found extended not only to the name of the emperor, but to those of the empress and cesarewitch, and even to the emperor's pronouns.

told on good authority, is not at its best when dealing with ecclesiastical questions. But the king is anointed and consecrated by the Church to be her governor and protector. Mr. Gladstone has pointed out "that the sovereigns of the country were, for a century after the Reformation, among her best-instructed and even in some instances her most devoted children."[1] One of these kings, the same writer reminds us, "has shed his blood upon the scaffold"[2] for the Church. When the king is the ruler of the Church something like justice to the Church may not unreasonably be looked for. "With due allowance in every sense for the times, that high office of foster-parent which our sovereigns had assumed was not ill discharged until the period of the Great Rebellion."[3] But with the House of Commons predominant, the Church has known how hard is the "tyranny, or law of the strongest, acting under constitutional forms,"[4] as when Sir Robert Walpole was prime minister. But the time may not be far off when the king may once more become the nursing father of the Church, as when "it was the mind of the Church that advised and informed the emperor, and practically determined the matter to which obedience was to be paid."[5] So in the middle ages it was law that the king followed, not merely his own will, even

[1] W. E. Gladstone, *Remarks on the Royal Supremacy*, . . . a letter to the Lord Bishop of London, London, 1850, p. 49. By Reformation Mr. Gladstone certainly means the changes in the sixteenth century.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 57. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 55. [4] *Op. cit.* p. 56

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 26.

when he was looked upon as having no superior but God.[1] Let us hope that a repetition of the opening of the middle ages may be seen in our time: that a new Alcuin may arise to advise another Charles the Great, who by his own authority brought order out of chaos, and did indeed "nourish and teach, defend and instruct"[2] the Church of the West.

[1] See above, p. 158.

[2] See above, p. 159, note 1.

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